CORRECTIONS

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
OF THE
SASKATCHEWAN EXPERIENCE

87-01121/

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CORRECTIONS

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AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
OF THE SASKATCHEWAN EXPERIENCE

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CANADIAN PLAINS REPORTS ■ 4
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CANADIAN PLAINS RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF REGINA
1981

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Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Skinner, Shirley
Corrections

(Canadian plains reports, ISSN 0384-8930 ; 4)
Bibliography: p.
ISBN 0-88977-022-0

1. Corrections—Saskatchewan—History.
2. Correctional institutions—Saskatchewan—History. 3. Prisons—Saskatchewan—History. I. Driedger, Otto, 1932- II. Grainger, Brian, 1949- III. University of Regina. Canadian Plains Research Center. IV. Title. V. Series
HV9509.S3S55 365'.97124 C81-091192-2

Canadian Plains Research Center
University of Regina
Regina, Saskatchewan
S4S 0A2

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PREFACE

This book provides baseline data about the development of provincial adult corrections in Saskatchewan. It is hoped that this initial attempt will encourage scholars to conduct more in-depth and analytical studies into aspects of the historical development of adult corrections. This book is an internal perspective of Saskatchewan Corrections. Official documents and interviews with persons who had been employed in the system were the primary sources. This perspective is only one of many possible approaches which might have been used, but it was felt to be the most appropriate as a starting point in trying to understand the historical development of corrections.

Most of the limited historical research on corrections in Canada relates to the federal experience, with some reference to the central provinces. Through this study, which focuses almost exclusively on Saskatchewan, the authors hope to widen the understanding of correctional services in Canada.

There were a number of reasons for the interest by the authors and the School of Human Justice in the history of adult corrections. Little attention has been given to the historical development of criminal justice services in Saskatchewan and virtually nothing has been written on the development of provincial adult corrections. Although the history of the RCMP and provincial police has received some attention, little work has been done on the historical developments of other aspects of the criminal justice system such as the courts, municipal police, and legal services. It is hoped that this book will raise the level of interest and awareness in the necessity for this type of research.

As previously indicated, secondary source materials on correctional services in Saskatchewan are practically non-existent. Locating primary sources, on which the book is almost exclusively based, was a lengthy and exhausting task. Materials were collected from the Provincial Archives, the National Archives, the Legislative Library, Corrections Division Central Office, the correctional centres, private agencies, and private individuals. The program and policy files of the Department of Public Works, the Corrections Branch, Department of Social Services, and the John Howard Society of Saskatchewan were reviewed. As well, the Annual Reports of Public Works, Social Services and the John Howard Society were used. Provincial and federal commissions and other reports relating to the penal system were examined. The provincial legislation and the legislative debates relating to corrections were reviewed. Sessional Papers, private papers of individuals, local newspapers and other similar materials provided valuable information. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty individuals, employed at various times and in various positions in the provincial correctional system. Included among these individuals (listed on page 197) were former Directors of Corrections, directors of correctional centres, correctional officers, and John Howard Society members. Photographs were collected from the Provincial Archives and from private individuals. The literature regarding penal history was reviewed in order to understand the context of penal developments elsewhere in Canada, the United States, continental Europe and England.

Initially only materials which related to the 1905 to 1975 period were collected. Subsequently, in order to provide background information on the early development of justice services in the territorial period of Canada's northwest, the chapter on the pre-1905 period was developed.

Although this book is primarily descriptive, some analysis and interpretation of events is offered throughout the text. Moreover, the Saskatchewan experience is viewed within the conceptual backdrop of penal philosophies.

There are a number of limitations in both the research and interpretations in this book. One of these is the gap in the resource material which forms the basis of the book. The search for historical records was frustrating. Many of these records have been destroyed, lost, or may be in the hands of private individuals and thus were not accessible to us. For example, some of the early documents (files, diaries, day books, punishment books) which were once housed in the provincial correctional centres were not to be found there. The records of some of the earlier private agencies (such as the records for the Prisoners Aid Movement which was formed in Saskatchewan in 1911 and the records for the early development of the provincial John Howard Society which formed in Saskatchewan in 1940) were not located. Fortunately some information was available through other sources such as local newspapers and orally from individuals who were involved in these organizations. This situation clearly illustrates the need for the systematic collection and conservation of documents of this nature.

Adult Corrections is part of the larger criminal justice system, and policies and developments in other parts of this system (both at the federal and the provincial level) have had an impact on the development of provincial corrections. The paucity of historical writing in any of these areas has made it difficult to explore these interconnections, but some attempt has been made to link the social, political, and economic conditions to developments in adult corrections. However, this is not extensive because this is not the perspective of this study, and there is limited historical writing in these areas.

Many people have assisted us in the preparation of this book, and we wish to extend our thanks and warm appreciation to them.

Dr. Ezzat A. Fattah, Department of Criminology, Simon Fraser University; Professor Fred Wagner, Department of English, University of Regina; Dr. Bill Brennan, Department of History, University of Regina; and Dr. John Hylton, School of Human Justice, University of Regina acted as outside readers for this book. Their comments and suggestions were very helpful in making revisions to this work. Keith Foster provided some research assistance, particularly relating to the first chapter of this book; Barbara Jones of the Canadian Plains Research Center assisted with the editorial work; and Jeannie Schmidt typed and retyped versions of this manuscript many times.

Gratitude must also be extended to all of those people who participated in the interviews which constituted part of the research for this book.

In addition, special thanks are due to the Corrections Division, Saskatchewan Social Services for allowing access to their program and policy files, and for providing some financial assistance toward the final revisions and publication of this book. Also, the School of Human Justice, University of Regina and the Research Division, Solicitor General of Canada provided substantial financial assistance toward the completion of this research. The Prairie Justice Research Consortium and the Canadian Plains Research Center subsidized the printing of the book.

The views expressed in this book are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the School of Human Justice or any government department. The authors accept responsibility for any errors, omissions, or misrepresentations herein.

INTRODUCTION

History of Ideas: The Conceptual Base

The legacy of the correctional system as we know it today and as described in this book has a very complex conceptual base. This conceptual base is closely tied to the function and purpose of law, and more specifically, legal sanctions in society. Legal sanctions are defined as "those rules of the legal order that prescribe the consequences of violating the primary norms that are meant to govern behaviour."[1] Some of the sanctions imposed by the law fall into the mandate of the correctional system, while others, particularly the compensatory and regulatory sanctions, are administered by other agencies.

Punishment; deterrence, both individual and general; retribution; the protection of society; incapacitation; humanitarianism; reform; treatment and rehabilitation are all evident in the way society has dealt with offenders against the law or the social order. At certain points during the past centuries there have been different views as to which of these concepts are the means and which are the ends. For example, at certain times in history punishment was used as a deterrent. At other times it was thought that punishment would lead to reform, and rehabilitation would lead to the protection of society. Also, historically there have been various methods used to achieve the above ends. For example, there has been an array of punitive, deterrent, and rehabilitative methods. These methods also form a part of the conceptual base.

Few contemporary writers have attempted to clarify the aims of legal sanctions. The aims of punishment, which have evolved through the centuries, are vague and many competing views exist. Nigel Walker, in his contemporary work on crime and punishment in Britain, says that most official statements about punishment tend to skirt the underlying philosophy of punishment which is a controversial, almost political subject.[2] Van den Haag defines punishment as suffering or deprivation imposed by law.[3] Van den Haag's definition sees only the retributive side of punishment. Packer says that the aims of punishment are "the prevention of undesired conduct and retribution for perceived wrongdoing."[4] Packer contends, as many other theorists do, that treatment or reform is one way of preventing crime and it is therefore a component of punishment. We contend, however, that treatment or rehabilitation is an aim which is separate from punishment and does not fit into Packer's definition of punishment. Punishment, then, has two components — retribution and deterrence.

Retribution is one of the oldest components of punishment but is still a part of the present day system. The statue of justice which stands in front of many courthouses is symbolic of the retributive component. She holds the eternal scales of justice which weigh the gravity of the crime on one scale and tries to re-establish the equilibrium disturbed by the offence through an equally weighty punishment on the other scale. Her blindfold is symbolic of her indifference to extraneous issues relating to either the offender or the victim. Retribution, then, is used to restore an objective order which was disrupted by the offence.[5]

Retribution is based on the premise that man has free will; its use is a moral issue and its misuse punishable. Retribution has an element of vengeance. Kant says that the purpose of punishment is to satisfy justice and its efficacy consists essentially in expiation and reparation.[6] Revenge as a justification for punishment goes back to the ancient code of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."[7] Atonement through suffering has been a major theme in religious thought through the ages. Retribution is aimed at giving public satisfaction as well as buiding up an abhorrence in the minds of the public for certain acts.[8]

Popular sayings, referring to the punishment of an offender, often reflect the retributive aim of punishment. For example, we say: society has got its pound of flesh; he has paid his debt to society; and he got what was coming to him.

English Utilitarians of the eighteenth century rejected retribution as a reason for punishing criminals. They held that the good that comes from punishing criminals is the reduction or prevention of crime. They thought that the criminal was a perfectly rational, hedonistic actor whose objective was to maximize pleasure and minimize pain.[9] It was thought that the threat of punishment and the example of others who had been punished would create conforming behaviour among the general public. This was known as general deterrence. Punishment would work as a special deterrent on the offender who in future would avoid conduct that he knew would result in the infliction of pain.[10] Although the English Utilitarians are credited with the theory of deterrence, it is difficult to imagine how the public punishments of former centuries could not have been viewed as both special and general deterrents.

Incapacitation has sometimes been one of the aims of legal sanction. This mode of sanction uses the reasoning that because an offender has committed a certain crime he is likely to commit further crimes of that sort and thus he must be removed from society. Imprisonment, capital punishment, banishment and transportation have been methods of incapacitation.[11]

The terms reform, treatment, and rehabilitation have been used interchangeably. The aim of reform or treatment is to change the lawbreaker into a law-abiding citizen. The aim of treatment is the protection of society. However, Packer claims that with further evolution of the penal system the aim of treatment is not only to make the offender law-abiding, but also less antisocial in ways which are outside the scope of the law.[12] Treatment has sometimes been defined as being sentenced to receive help.[13] Some examples of reform through hard work and homily go back to the sixteenth century, but it was not until the late nineteenth century that the reform movement, strongly flavoured with humanitarianism, made progress. Reform has been linked to the behaviourist view of man. This view holds that man is not a free moral agent and that moral responsibility is an illusion. Behaviour, including criminal behaviour, is largely a product of forces extraneous to the individual — biological, social, or cultural forces. Catch-phrases which have grown up around the treatment objective of legal sanctioning are, treat the criminal not the crime, criminals are sick, and punishment is obsolete.

The concepts and methods used in dealing with offenders are interrelated with, and may have been formulated on the basis of, a number of other factors. One of the important factors is the philosophical view of the nature of man. Conceptualization of the nature of man has been changing over the centuries and many competing ideas have existed simultaneously. These have been accompanied by differing views on the nature of crime and of the criminal. Underlying the view of crime and the criminal is the important debate of free will versus determinism which has been referred to in the foregoing discussion. The question of whether man is a free moral agent or whether his behaviour is determined by forces byond his control is vitally important. At certain points in history crime has been viewed as being instigated by evil spirits or by the devil, as sin (moral transgression), as deliberate transgression of the rules of society, as illness, or as a result of failings in the society. Again, many of these views may exist simultaneously.

Bound up with the view of man has been the nature of society, culture, values, economics and politics which are reflected in the law and other mechanisms of social control. Often the law has been viewed as an implement of the ruling or most powerful groups in society to protect their culture, values, and political ideologies. For example, promiscuity, being drunk in a public place, and gambling have all been designated as crimes. Most of these activities are engaged in by the lower classes. However, the middle and upper classes conduct secret love affairs, get drunk at home, and gamble in casinos. What is the distinction between these activities? More attention has been focused on categories of theft such as breaking and entering (lower class) than on similar categories of white collar crime (middle-upper class). Similarly, it is probable that more people have been killed because of industrial health hazards than have been killed by violent crime and yet the criminal justice system has been preoccupied with the latter.[14] These examples reflect the impact of values on the definition of crime and on who the criminals shall be. Political groups such as the Communists, who have been viewed as a threat to the political ideologies of the more powerful groups in the West, have been subjected to legal and penal sanctions. Such crimes as vagrancy, and a breach of the Railways Act are primarily determined by economic conditions in which people are situated. Those who suffer from mental illness and alcoholism have frequently found themselves in conflict with the law. It seems that society has tended to criminalize social, economic, political, and mental health problems rather than to develop more appropriate, coping responses.

History of Ideas: The Chronology of Events

As previously indicated, society has adopted various methods of dealing with transgressors of the law at different stages of our history. For example, in seventh century England, compensation was the most common method of dealing with crime. Compensation had taken the place of the blood feud in which the victim's family would take revenge on the offender's family. Compensation meant that a murderer or thief would pay a fine of which one half would go to the injured person or his relatives, and one half to the King.[15] It became an important source of revenue for the crown.

Punishment by mutilation and death was taking the place of compensation by the middle of the tenth century. New ideas about virtue and the purpose of punishment were growing and it was felt that only the threat of savage punishment could check people's growing disposition to crime. The elements of repression, deterrence and retribution were important. Disembowelling, castration, quartering, cutting out the heart or decapitation were methods of mutilation. The stocks, the pillory, and branding were used for public humiliation, which was considered a necessary part of punishment. Crowds would gather and throw stones, rotten eggs and other debris at the offender who was bound in the stocks or pillory. In 1530, vagrants of both sexes were tied to a cart, naked, and whipped until bloody.[16]

The number of capital crimes increased over the centuries. For example, in 1760 in England there were 160 capital crimes. This was a response to the social evils brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Most of the capital crimes were property-related. In 1785 there were 97 executions in London and Middlesex — only one for murder and the remainder for property offences.[17] In England, until 1868 executions were public and a large crowd would attend. This was thought to have deterrent value because the public could see that justice had been done and retribution had taken place. After 1868, executions took place behind prison walls with a black flag flying and a funeral bell tolling.[18]

Removal of the criminal from society or the community was common. Such methods as transportation, banishment, capital punishment and other methods of incapacitation were used.

Many of these practices continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, in Canada the pillory was abolished in 1842, branding in the 1840s, transportation in 1853, and banishment in 1902.[19] Michel Foucault, in his study of the birth of the prison, points out how methods of punishment have changed in the last 200 years. Instead of punishing the body (dismemberment, pillory, the lash, branding), society now chooses to punish the soul. Foucault says that:

> If the penalty in its most severe forms no longer addresses itself to the body, on what doest it lay hold? The answer of the theoreticians — those who, about 1760, opened up a new period that is not yet at an end — is simple, almost obvious. It seems to be contained in the questions itself: since it is no longer the body, it must be the soul. The expiation that once rained down upon the body must be replaced by a punishment which acts in depth on the heart, thoughts, the will, the inclinations.[20]

The natural sciences which developed between the sixteenth and nineteenth century emphasized the new scientific or inductive method of seeking truth as opposed to the older deductive, religious and metaphysical techniques. At first this technique was confined to the physical and biological sciences but later came to be applied to man and society. This is evident in the works of the British deists and rationalists and their followers such as John Locke, David Hume and Thomas Paine. These philosophers supported the use of reason, free thinking and toleration, and attacked the savagery of orthodox Christianity. They felt that religion should appeal to man's reason and they questioned miracles. With the growth of these ideas and the new way of looking at man came a desire to improve social conditions by eliminating abuses and oppression and increasing happiness.[21] Cessaria Beccaria (1738-1794) and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) were influenced by the British deists and rationalists. Beccaria and Bentham formed the foundations for the Classical School of thought regarding crime and punishment. Proponents of the Classical School believed in the free will of man and thought that crimes were rational and deliberate acts and that the punishment should fit the crime. They believed that the basis of all social action must be the utilitarian concept of the greatest happiness for the greatest number. This fundamental belief carries the essence of humanitarianism and is related to evangelicalism by advocating the end to cruelty, injustice and moral suffering. An excessive number of capital crimes, mutilation and torture, and archaic methods of determining guilt, were characteristic of Beccaria and Bentham's time.[22]

Beccaria believed that the prevention of crime was more important than the punishment for crime; that the certainty and not the severity of punishment was the way to deter crime; and that penal justice should be moderated by elements of humanity.

Bentham held the position that the pleasure of crime should be outweighed by the pain of punishment; the purpose of punishment was not social revenge but deterrence; and he advocated the use of imprisonment at hard labour. He believed that there was some hope of reforming criminals so that they would be useful to society. Also, he thought that perpetual imprisonment at hard labour with the occasional use of solitary confinement would produce deeper impressions and have greater general deterrent value than momentary punishments such as the death penalty.

Elements of the Classical School such as free will, the pleasure-pain principle, a commitment to deterrence, punishment suited to the crime, the use of imprisonment, some humanitarianism, and the idea of reform remain the predominant features of the contemporary criminal justice system.

In the nineteenth century the Neo-classical School modified classicism by providing exceptions to the doctrine of free will. The exceptions were childhood immaturity, mental illness and a few mitigating and extenuating circumstances.

The use of institutions (jails) as a primary method of dealing with offenders is a relatively modern concept. Jails had been used in England and on the continent as places where the offender was confined until physically punished or, in the case of debtors, until the creditors were satisfied. Most of the prisons were privately owned.[23] The first attempt to deal with social problems through the use of institutions was the workhouse movement which began in England and other parts of Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Bridewell in England opened in 1576 and is thought to have been the first House of Correction. The workhouse movement began as a method of coping with the ever increasing numbers of vagrants, beggars and dissolute women who were preying on society as a consequence of the breakdown in the feudal social order resulting from agrarian reform. The philosophy on which the workhouses were based was that of deterring people from leading idle and wanton lives by forcing them to perform hard work.[24]

The idea of reform was evident in some of these workhouses. For example, in the early eighteenth century Pope Clement XI ran a workhouse for delinquent boys in San Michel. He advocated hard work and silence. The sign over the door read: "It is insufficient to restrain the wicked by punishment, unless you render them virtuous by corrective discipline."[25]

The use of institutions as a means of dealing with adult criminals began in the nineteenth century. The penitentiary was the first such development. It is thought to have developed on the basis of the humanitarian theories of the Quakers who were opposed to the harsh physical punishments, public punishment, and the excessive number of capital crimes in the early American colonies. They felt that imprisonment would be a more humanitarian method of dealing with the offender. Also the idea of the English Utilitarians, that man sought to maximize pleasure and minimize pain, was incorporated in to the development of prisons. Punishment should offer more pain than transgression of the law was worth. Thus, the conditions in the institutions should be below the standards on the outside.[26] The first penitentiary in North America is thought to have been Cherry Hill which was constructed in 1829 in Western Pennsylvania. The design was based on Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon.[27] It was strictly a system of solitary confinement in which the offender was to repent and be reformed. Prisoners received moral instruction and worked at trades and crafts. This system proved to be expensive and drove many prisoners insane.

The Auburn approach is often referred to as the silence system because under this system prisoners were forbidden to speak to one another. Auburn Prison was built in New York in 1816. It was a system of congregate work by day and separation into individual cells by night. Prisoners worked in various trade shops in the institution. Stern discipline, silence, downcast eyes, and the lock step were all aspects of this system. Captain Elam Lynds (the first warden of Auburn, a military man) felt that a convict could not be reformed until his spirit was broken. The Auburn approach became the model for other prisons.[28] Sing Sing, for example, was built in 1925 and was modeled upon Auburn. It was built by the labour of prisoners, the idea being that the prisons should pay for themselves. At Sing Sing prisoners had a library, received moral instruction, could have a few visitors and write letters. It is surprising how much of the early philosophy and practice continued unchanged in the prisons for more than a century. In fact, these philosophies and practices were still evident in the Saskatchewan correctional system in the late 1940s.

At the same time as institutions were beginning to be used as a means of dealing with criminals they were also being used as methods of dealing with the insane, juvenile delinquents and, as we have seen, they had already been used for dealing with the poor. Rothman claims that institutions were a response meant to address the problem of social disorder. He claims that the founders of the workhouses, asylums, penitentiaries, and reformatories believed that deviants and dependents had to be removed from the community as a prerequisite to recovery. A well-ordered environment would transform these people into hard working and responsible citizens.[29] The Quakers who were behind the founding of the peniteniary believed that the problem was in the community and that idleness was part of the symptom and part of the cause of deviant behaviour. Thus commitment to a daily routine of hard labour would be part of the cure. Also the criminal had to learn to be obedient because he had never learnt to live within the limits of society. Thus stern discipline and strict obedience were necessary. The doctrines of separation, obedience, and labour became the trinity around which the early penitentiaries were organized.[30] In these institutions, "a conscious effort to instill discipline through an institutional routine led to a set work pattern, a rationalization of movement, a precise organization of time, a general uniformity."[31] Rothman claims that the promise of reform on which these institutions were built had faded by the late nineteenth century. However, the functionalism of custody has perpetuated them to the present day.[32]

Religious groups, and other private sector groups and individuals have been involved in efforts to improve or humanize methods of dealing with the offender over the centuries. In 1777 John Howard, perhaps the most noteworthy prison reformer, published his famous book entitled, *The State of Prisons in England and Wales.* He called for classification according to offence, employment in useful labour, the appointment of honest and humane jailers, conscientious chaplains and medical officers, the closing down of prison bars (prisoners could buy liquor if they had the money), the provision of infirmaries, chapels, baths, improvements in ventilation and sanitation, proper clothes, daily allowances of wholesome food, and the appointment of inspectors to make sure these conditions were met.[33]

Along with the humanitarian trend grew the desire to reform the deviant. Some of the earlier efforts at reform such as solitude, homily and industry (labour and learning trades) have already been discussed. Ideas about reform appeared as early as the sixteenth century in the context of the workhouse, but it was not until the nineteenth century that this movement gained momentum. For example, in 1895 a Royal Commission, known as the Gladstone Commission, was called to look into the situation in prisons in Britain. The Commission made a number of recommendations for humanitarian improvements in the jails. It recommended that useless prison labour be abolished, that cellular confinement be limited to short periods and that the severity of discipline be relaxed. The Commission stated that: "Prison discipline should be more effectively designed to maintain, stimulate, or awaken the higher suspectibilities of prisoners, to develop their moral interests, to train them in orderly and industrious habits, and wherever possible to turn them out of prison better men and women physically and morally than when they came."[34]

In the United States, 1870 is referred to as the beginning of the renaissance in penal philosophy. In that year the National Prison Association, which was later named the American Prison Association and then renamed the Annual Congress of Corrections, was formed. The principles adopted by this Association in 1870 were based on humanitarianism. They stated that "reformation, not vindictive suffering, should be the purpose of penal treatment of prisoners,"[35] and called for the progressive classification of prisoners, indeterminate sentencing and the cultivation of the prisoner's self-respect. Religion and education were cited as the two main agents of reform. The Association recommended industrial training of prisoners, improvements in the physical conditions of prisons, and the professional training of prison officials. Many of the wardens and other prison officials who attended the Association endorsed these principles. In practice, however, advocates of these methods were able to introduce innovations only for young first offenders in the reformatory system. Elmira Reformatory in New York was the first to open in 1876, but others soon followed throughout the United States.[36]

In England the borstal system for juveniles was developed in the early twentieth century. This system was developed for young offenders between the ages of 16 and 21, and was based, in large part, on the concepts of reform and training. Diagnostic centres were developed in some of the borstals. The establishments were organized on the house plan, similar to that used in English preparatory schools. The staff wore civilian clothing, had no weapons and were encouraged to develop friendships with inmates.[37] This was an attempt to humanize the way juveniles were dealt with and to reform them.

As well as other methods used in the reformatories and borstals, physical exercise was seen as an important factor which could, in itself, lead to moral improvement. The assumption was that physical exercise would use up energy which could otherwise be devoted to less desirable activities, and might establish socially acceptable interests which would outlast the sentence.[38]

In the nineteenth century various theories about society were emerging. For example, Nigel Walker suggests that the economic theories of Karl Marx which appeared in the mid-nineteenth century led to socialist explanations of crime. These held that the exploitation of workers led to endemic poverty and misery which in turn led to a variety of criminal responses. Economic explanations of crime were in their prime in Britain and continental Europe in the late nineteenth century. Since these theories saw poverty as one of the main incentives for crime, the relief of poverty was the obvious solution. Often referred to as environmental manipulation, this solution is evident in the work of Victorian social workers and the charitable societies which formed around prisons to aid discharged prisoners. Prisoners' aid societies concerned themselves with providing the discharged prisoner with food, clothing, shelter, and sometimes money and employment.[39] Radical criminology which emerged in the late 1960s is sometimes linked to the Marxist perspective. Radical criminology focuses on value pluralism, social conflicts, class and racism as the sources of criminal behaviour. Some of its spokesmen argue that human interactions are formed on the basis of the economic structure of society and that crime control cannot be realized within the present prevailing socio-economic order of society.

Lombroso (1836-1909) is said to be the founder of the Positive School of Criminology which developed in the nineteenth century. He applied biology to the study of crime and claimed that the criminal was a different physical type from the non-criminal. That man's behaviour is determined by forces beyond his control is central to the beliefs of the Positive School and stands in direct contradiction to proponents of the Classical School who believed that man was a free moral agent. In accord with their beliefs, followers of the Positive School thought that punishment (or treatment) should fit the criminal and not the crime because the criminal was not motivated by free will and thus not totally responsible for his actions.[40]

As part of the evolution of the Positive School the social and behavioural sciences began to gain prominence in explaining man's behaviour in the nineteenth century. Many theories regarding human behaviour emerged including Sigmund Freud's theory of personality. In the Freudian view crime was an unconscious response to personal problems. The offender was sick rather than wicked and was driven by unconscious forces beyond his control rather than having made a conscious choice to become involved in crime. Many psychological and sociological theories of crime emerged. There was a search for the causes of and cures for crime. Many of these theories tried to explain crime on the basis of one or two variables and generally concluded that there were solutions which would eradicate crime.

Most of the cures can be referred to as treatment or rehabilitation — the application of scientific knowledge of the social and behavioural sciences to changing the lawbreaker into a law-abiding citizen. This approach added various new techniques such as psychotherapy and group counselling to the earlier methods of reform.

A movement away from the Positive School of Criminology back to the Classical School began in the 1960s. Some theorists began to move away from looking at the causes for, and cures of, crime and began focusing on the function and formulation of the criminal law. Also in the late 1960s and 1970s some writers began to examine rehabilitation critically, and some even proposed that it not be one of the functions of the correctional system. Some of the underlying assumptions of rehabilitation which were questioned by these writers were that behaviour was the result of antecedent causes, that these causes could be identified by professionals versed in the social sciences and that when they had been identified they could be changed. The social and behavioural sciences generally held that man's behaviour was caused by various forces outside the realm of consciousness and, therefore, beyond his control. This perspective holds a deterministic view of the nature of man. This view has been modified over the years so that some free will is accorded to the actor. The treatment approach implies that there is something wrong with the offender, not that he has done something wrong, so that transgression of the law came to be viewed as some form of social or psychological pathology. The criminal act became almost irrelevant in the correctional process, other than that it might have some diagnostic significance. Treatment was based on the medical model. The shift to determinism may have been a reaction to the former excessive adherence to the doctrines of free will. Rehabilitation was supposed to be based on humanitarian ideals.[41]

The deleterious effects which large institutions such as mental hospitals and prisons had on inmates were discussed by social theorists such as Goffman and Belknap as early as the 1950s.[42] Some of these effects were enforced dependency, depersonalization, loss of self-respect, loss of contact with relatives and friends, and loss of social skills. These factors were thought to work more toward the debilitation than rehabilitation of the individual. Also in the 1950s American sociologists such as Robert Merton began to elaborate on theories of anomie (the breakdown of regulatory norms and resultant deviant behaviour) which had been developed by Emile Durkheim, a French sociologist, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Anomie theory holds that social and community ties are the fabric of conformity. The premise is that when an individual has no community ties, no family ties and no meaningful work, he is free to engage in forms of deviant or criminal behaviour.[43] These theories form part of the philosophical base aimed at trying to integrate the deviant or criminal into the community. Movements began which emphasized the deinstitutionalization of such groups as juvenile delinquents, the mentally ill and adult criminals. Efforts were made for the provision of community-based services to these people.

In the corrections area two of the most common forms of community-based services are probation and work release or work training. Both of these services have origins which go far back in time, though they were not commonly used until after the Second World War.

Probation has its beginnings in the English Common Law which recognized the principle of judicial reprieve as early as 1340. This meant that a sentence was withheld during a period of good behaviour. When judicial reprieve was used the magistrate could ask a volunteer to act as surety for the offender. If the offender misbehaved, the volunteer would report back to the court. This concept expanded and by 1925 salaried probation officers were established in England. In the United States John Augustus, who acted as surety before the Boston courts from 1841, is often referred to as the father of probation in that country. In Canada adult probation began with judges directing the release of certain offenders on a recognizance (a bond binding persons to observe certain conditions, either with or without surety), rather than imposing a sentence. In 1889 there was an Act to Permit the Conditional Release of First Offenders in Certain Cases. This legislation came to include a number of conditions in which sentences could be suspended on probation of good conduct. In 1921 this legislation was amended to include provision for the offender to report to an officer whom the court might designate, thus legally recognizing the value of supervision for those released on suspended sentence.[44]

Work release has its origins in the Huber Laws which were sponsored by Senator Henry Huber in Wisconsin in 1913. These laws allowed misdemeanants serving sentences of up to one year in jail to continue working at their regular jobs in the community. Work release did not spread beyond Wisconsin to the rest of the nation until after the Second World War.[45]

The Saskatchewan Experience

The primary focus of this book is on historical developments in the Saskatchewan provincial system of adult corrections between 1905 and 1975, with some account (Chapter I) of the development of justice services, including correctional services, in Canada's Western Frontier prior to the achievement of provincial status. Adult Corrections deals with offenders (male and female) over the age of 16 years.

In Saskatchewan, geographic, economic, cultural, climatic, political and historical factors have presented themselves in an interesting combination. Saskatchewan, because of its distance from central Canada, has been relatively isolated from developments there. The province has had a strong agrarian economic base, and presents a mosaic of cultural backgrounds (many first or second generation immigrants) along with a large population of people of Indian ancestry. Climatic conditions are often very harsh and extreme. Politically, Saskatchewan has had a strong CCF (NDP) tradition in government since 1944.

The history of the province is relatively short. In 1905 Saskatchewan achieved provincial status; prior to that time it was part of the

North West Territories. This short history makes the complete study of developments in various areas more manageable than in regions where historical developments took place over many centuries. For example, a formal justice system was not put in place in the area until the late nineteenth century.

In the provincial adult corrections area in Canada, Saskatchewan is unusual in that Adult Corrections has been located in the Department of Social Services* since 1948. In many of the other provinces Adult Corrections has been located within the Attorney General's Department or is a separate department. Although this study does not attempt to assess the impact of this factor on the development of adult corrections, it is important to be aware of the context in which these developments took place.

It is also important to understand that the responsibility for the justice system in Canada today is constitutionally divided between the federal and provincial governments. This split in jurisdiction (the origins of which are discussed at the end of Chapter I), is a characteristic of all the major agencies within the Canadian Criminal Justice System. It should be noted that the Parliament of Canada is responsible for the passage of all criminal law. This includes what is commonly referred to as the criminal code as well as such quasi-criminal legislation as the Narcotics Control Act or Juvenile Delinquents Act. In contrast, the provincial governments are responsible for the actual day-to-day administration of justice. This entails the provision of police, prosecutorial services, and court services. Legislative powers relating to penalties for the contravention of provincial statutes remain in the hands of provincial jurisdictions as do many provincial statutes include penalty sections with fines which, upon default of payment, require a minimum period of incarceration.

As noted above, the split in jurisdiction extends beyond the powers to legislate. Both the federal and provincial governments operate police, prosecutorial, judicial, and corrections agencies. The national police force — the RCMP — has special responsibility for customs, national security, and narcotics control and, under contract, serves as the provincial police force in all provinces except Ontario and Quebec. Federal prosecutors handle criminal law cases and such matters as income tax fraud. There are federally appointed judges for the senior courts of each province. As well, there are national judicial bodies, like the Supreme Court of Canada and the Federal Court.

In the field of corrections and penal law there again exists a split in legislative powers as well as in operations. Canada's constitution provides that the penitentiary system — today known as the Corrections Service of Canada — be directed by Ottawa. However, each province has the authority to establish prisons and reformatories. It is interesting to note that the split in jurisdiction in corrections relies on the 2 year rule: that is, persons serving sentences of less than 2 years, do so in a provincial prison. All others must be held in the federal penitentiary. Although each province does have its own legislation governing its corrections' services, the federal Prisons and Reformatories Act guides the operation of the provincial services. This overlap is particularly noticeable in the matter of authority to grant Temporary Absences to inmates. There is a clearer separation in the matter of parole (federal) and probation (provincial), but even here there is authority for dual responsibility. A province may appoint provincial parole boards to permit releases from provincial prisons and some have done so. All of which is to say that there is some duplication and overlap in this field of justice administration as in the other areas.[46]

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*This department has been known by various names. From 1944-48, Department of Social Welfare; 1949-64, Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation; 1965-71, Department of Welfare; 1972 onwards, Department of Social Services.

The groundwork for a justice system in the West was laid down even before Saskatchewan achieved provincial status in 1905. Courts were established; judges and justices of the peace were hired; jails were built.

The use of these jails as the primary means of dealing with offenders persisted throughout the period of this study up to 1975. In other respects the developments in Adult Corrections can be seen to fall into several time periods. From 1905 to 1945 concepts of retribution and deterrence predominated. During the 1946 to 1966 period there was an emphasis on reform, treatment and rehabilitation, while the 1967 to 1975 period was dominated by the community approach. Although such changes in emphasis took place gradually, certain landmarks formalized the shifts. One such milestone was the 1946 Saskatchewan Penal Commission, the first and only commission to study the penal system in Saskatchewan. It precipitated the change from the punishment to the treatment model. Similarly, the 1967 Corrections Act formalized the shift to community corrections. In spite of these major changes in emphasis there was considerable overlap in ideas from one time period to another.

In the following chapters the evolution of these concepts, their development and change, will be explored.

1. BEFORE PROVINCIAL STATUS: PRE-1905

Prior to the acquisition of provincial status by Saskatchewan in 1905, lockups and jails served the system of justice in the North West Territories. The story of western Canada's frontier development began with the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. With the passage of time, and the influx of settlers into the small communities scattered across the North West Territories, the justice system (police, courts, and corrections) also grew.

An examination of this early developmental period shows that the people of the Territories gradually assumed all the trappings of the legal system. At first they relied completely on the link with the British legal traditions. However, as the nineteenth century began, the courts of modern day Ontario and Quebec took on the wide-ranging jurisdiction for the hearing of serious breaches of the peace. Eventually the new province of Manitoba, created in 1870, provided criminal case decisions through its courts, and in 1877 the North West Territories acquired its own superior courts. Those living in Canada's West were anxious to have access to legal remedies as well as to make the Northwest attractive to potential commercial ventures.

At first, prison sentences were carried out in England and then in eastern Canada, but after 1873 the North West Mounted Police guardhouses served as jails and detention centres. With the construction of jails in Regina and Prince Albert, local services were completed.

Throughout these formative years, there existed little evidence of a clear penal philosophy unique to the frontier experience. For the most part the administrators, like the settlers, sought to put in place an affordable facsimile of that which they knew in eastern Canada or under British rule.

Rupert's Land Becomes the North West Territories

"All the lands watered by streams flowing into Hudson's Bay" is the way the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) chose to define the tract of land held under its 1670 charter from England's Charles II. The charter included a mandate to the Governors and resident Factors to hear civil as well as criminal cases.[1] If need be, an offender could be sent to England for trial but by the early 1800s this method of obtaining legal remedies had become unsatisfactory due to the costs involved.

In 1803 the English Parliament enacted legislation (Canada Jurisdiction Act) which extended the jurisdiction of the Quebec and Ontario courts to include the trial and punishment of persons found guilty of offences committed in Rupert's Land.[2] However, the well-documented fur-trade rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and its competitor, the North West Company, led to serious friction. Employees of both organizations sustained injuries as a result of this often violent fur-trade rivalry.

The English Parliament, as a result, passed an Act in 1821 to regulate the fur-trade and to confirm the jurisdictional arrangements enacted in 1803.[3] This 1821 legislation specifically referred to the rivalry and its negative impact on the lucrative fur-trade as well as the inconvenience and injury caused to the Indians. Through this legislation, the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its jurisdiction in both civil disputes and criminal matters.

In 1835, when the population of Rupert's Land reached an estimated 5,000, the Hudson's Bay Company appointed a legislative council with power to make laws. Four magistrates, who were also legislative council members, were assigned to four newly created judicial districts which included the Red River settlement. A police force of 60 officers was agreed to by the legislative council. The magistrates courts sat regularly to hear minor or summary civil as well as criminal cases. These courts referred more serious cases to the Governor and Council in the General Quarterly Court. Further, provision was made for a court house and jail. Interestingly enough the first legally trained professional did not arrive in Rupert's Land until 1839. The Hudson's Bay Company courts dispensed justice until the federal government purchased Rupert's Land in 1869. As late as 1861, the Hudson's Bay Company presiding judicial officer held the positions of sheriff, coroner, jailor and chief medical officer.[4] While it is difficult to comprehend how one individual could wear so many hats, the small number of professionally educated persons must account for such multiple duties by Hudson's Bay Company officials.

The Dominion Government Comes to the North West

Yankee whiskey traders, dislocated Indians, Upper Canada's expansionism and commercial interests all played a part in the eventual 1869 purchase of Rupert's Land by the federal government in Ottawa. The creation of Manitoba and the priority placed on a more visible justice administration came about following the Metis demands for recognition and requests for responsible government in the North West Territories.

At first, the federal government chose to have the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba responsible for the North West Territories as well. This arrangement, begun in 1870, ended in October 1876 with the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor for the North West Territories with authority to issue orders to the Mounted Police for the general peace and good government. Also, the Lieutenant-Governor had the authority to establish, maintain, and manage prisons. This power paralleled those of a province as provided for in the Constitution. Furthermore, the Lieutenant-Governor could appoint justices of the peace and require returns of trials and proceedings of magistrates courts.[5] It should be noted that certain members of the North West Mounted Police were also designated justices of the peace and magistrates. This designation led to some criticism, but appeared generally acceptable to the inhabitants in view of the scarcity of lawyers and judges. Regarding this dual function, Commissioner Macleod of the Mounted Police is said to have stated that, "we want justice in this country, not law."[6]

The two most significant law enforcement developments in the North West Territories after the federal purchase of 1869 were: (1) the increased number of justices of the peace and magistrates, and (2) the introduction of a mounted police force. Much has been written of the North West Mounted Police (NWMP), its long march West, its relationship with the Indian people, and the closing down of the illicit whiskey trade across the Canada-US border. Less is known of the early justices of the peace and the magistrates whose task it was to provide a fair hearing in a rough and tumble society far from legal texts.

The justices of the peace (i) held preliminary inquiries for indictable offences; (ii) dealt with summary conviction matters; (iii) granted bail; and (iv) took sureties for keeping the peace.[7] They were empowered to enforce federal statutes; territorial ordinances, like liquor prohibition; and by-laws such as those passed by the town council of Regina.

Ottawa's 1873 Bill which created the North West Mounted Police included legislation to establish courts and to appoint magistrates and it made reference to the erection of jails in the North West Territories.[8] However, as in the case of the North West Mounted Police, the orders-in-council creating these justices of the peace, courts and jails were slow in coming. Sir John A. Macdonald, as Prime Minister and Justice Minister, hoped to avoid these additional expenses to Ottawa for the administration of justice in the North West Territories.

Policing

In 1881 the white population had been estimated at 7,000 with some 5,000 Metis all of whom were sharing the land with 2,000-3,000 Indians. By 1885 the census reported 23,000 whites in the North West Territories.

The total strength of the North West Mounted Police reached 547 in 1884. The authorized strength of the North West Mounted Police grew to almost 1,000 at the time of the Riel Rebellion in 1885. Stanley Horrall, in his *Pictorial History of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*, gives the following 1883 account of "the principal cases tried by the officers . . . 1 murder, 13 cattle killing, 18 theft, 29 gambling, 29 horse stealing, 97 non-payment of wages and 101 infractions of the liquor ordinances."[9]

The North West Territories Act actually prohibited the local manufacture of liquor. Interestingly, many of those who pressed for a change in this prohibition were among those who had benefited from the peace and good government which followed the North West Mounted Police's regulation of the whiskey trade. In enforcing the North West Territories' liquor ordinances, the Mounted Police were not only accused by some people of an abuse of power, but also decried by temperance leagues for insufficient effort. Of the 278 criminal and other cases tried in 1882 before magistrates, some 91 were liquor-related. Horse stealing represented the second largest number of offences during this same year. Liquor-related offences usually made up 25%-30% of the cases tried in the Territories. This is illustrated in the following table taken from the magisterial returns to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF OFFENCES 1886-1890

	1886	**1887**	**1888**	**1889**	**1890** **(9 mths only)**
Drunk	74	67	67	116	36
Assault	43	34	46	67	30
Liquor Law	105	67	82	78	41
Stealing	25	40	39	54	36
Gambling	10	10	5	24	36
Vagrancy	11	11	5	17	19
Prairie Fires, Poisons and Game Ordinances	5	6	14	33	14
Wages (Breach of Masters and Servants Ordinances)	31	16	28	27	10
Killing and Wounding Animals	4	3	9	2	2
Other Offences	24	39	22	45	35

Source: Legislative Assembly Ordinances and Unpublicized Papers of the Council of the Legislative Assembly of the N.W.T., Sessional Paper No. 1, 1890, p. 84.

Guardhouse, Jail and Penitentiary

Imprisonment, according to the 1896 *Territorial Hand-Book for Justices of the Peace* "is either as punishment for the offence itself or as a means of compelling payment."[10] In the North West Territories a Mounted Police guardhouse normally held those sentenced to jail. Guardhouses existed at a number of police barracks including Maple Creek, Battleford, Prince Albert, Yorkton and, of course, Regina.

In the North West Territories Act the Mounted Police guardhouses were specifically mentioned as places of confinement in lieu of the Manitoba Penitentiary.[11] As early as 1873, Mounted Police were made responsible for the custody and escort of offenders when it was inconvenient or impossible to convey a prisoner to Manitoba. In fact the Regulations and Orders of the Mounted Police in 1889 made reference to the essential duties of a police provost officer:

1. He is responsible that the prison regulations and routine are strictly carried out.
2. He will tell off the prisoners to their respective work in accordance with requisitions and orders given by the commanding officers.
3. While the prisoners are at work or exercise he will thoroughly search the cells and all parts of the prison and report the circumstances connected with the finding of any matches, tools, or unauthorized articles.
4. He will also see that all parts of the prison building are in a thorough state of repair.
5. Any prisoner reporting himself sick is to be detained in his cell pending the visit of the medical doctor.[12]

Confinement in the guardhouses could, if necessary, be for conviction on a summary or indictable offence. Breach of a territorial ordinance (liquor ordinance, for example) attracted a sentence of up to three months in prison and a by-law infraction could warrant committal to jail. Prior to 1887, a sentence of imprisonment could be served only in the police guardhouses or, after 1870, in Manitoba's Stony Mountain Penitentiary. A steady stream of offenders from the territories found themselves confined at "Stony." Even after the construction of the first territorial jail at Regina in 1887, the penitentiary continued to receive the serious offenders sentenced to two years or more. For example, the magisterial returns for 1887 indicate that there were 11 persons transferred to the Penitentiary while in 1888 some 15 persons were transferred before October had ended.[13] The Mounted Police guardhouses held prisoners for thirty, sixty and even ninety days at a time. After 1887 certain offenders might spend even longer in a police guardhouse if it was not possible to convey them to the new territorial jail at Regina.

The Regina Jail*

When the *Regina Leader* announced, in April 1885, the location of the planned new Jail and Lunatic Asylum, it provided its readers with little more information than the location. The actual design of this common jail was undertaken by the Public Works Department in Ottawa at the request of the Department of Justice. The 1886 Public Works Annual Report stated that:

> The building will be 113 feet in extreme length, and consist of the administrative block, 40 feet long by 50 feet in breadth, consisting of basement and two stories, having on the ground floor reception and mess rooms, office, bedroom and kitchen, and on first floor surgery, matron's room, sick wards and dining rooms for insane and convicts; in the rear and abutting this is the cell wing, 66 feet long by 36 feet in width, two stories in height, containing on the ground floor twenty cells 4 feet by 8 feet, in two series, back to back, surrounded by a corridor, and on the first floor eight similar cells, besides a ward each for male and female insane, and two wards for female convicts; at the extreme end of the cell wing are the W.C.'s
>
> The cell wing is intended to be one of three similar blocks, the two others to be placed one on each side of the administrative block.
>
> The walls will be brick, on a stone foundation; the ceilings of cells of arched brick work; the floors of the administrative portion and the roofs throughout are to be of wood; shingled.[14]

It is worthy of note that in Prince Albert a court house and common jail were also in preparation. The description of the Prince Albert cells is similar. Some twenty cells were constructed in the Prince Albert jail and court house. The contracted cost of the Regina Jail and Lunatic Asylum amounted to just under $16,000. Though the appropriation by Parliament exceeded this cost by $4,000, it would appear that the additional wings mentioned were never built.

From several accounts it appears that the Dominion Jail did not admit its first sentenced inmate until 1891. The evidence suggests that the prison was very poorly built and required essential improvements to make it even barely acceptable. A further impediment to its operation was the reluctance of the North West Mounted Police to transfer able-bodied inmates from their (NWMP) guardhouse to the Dominion Jail. The following exchange of correspondence illustrates the reasons for the delay of several years before the opening of the jail. This exchange of correspondence was between L.W. Herchmer, Commissioner of the NWMP, and the Comptroller of the Mounted Police in Ottawa.

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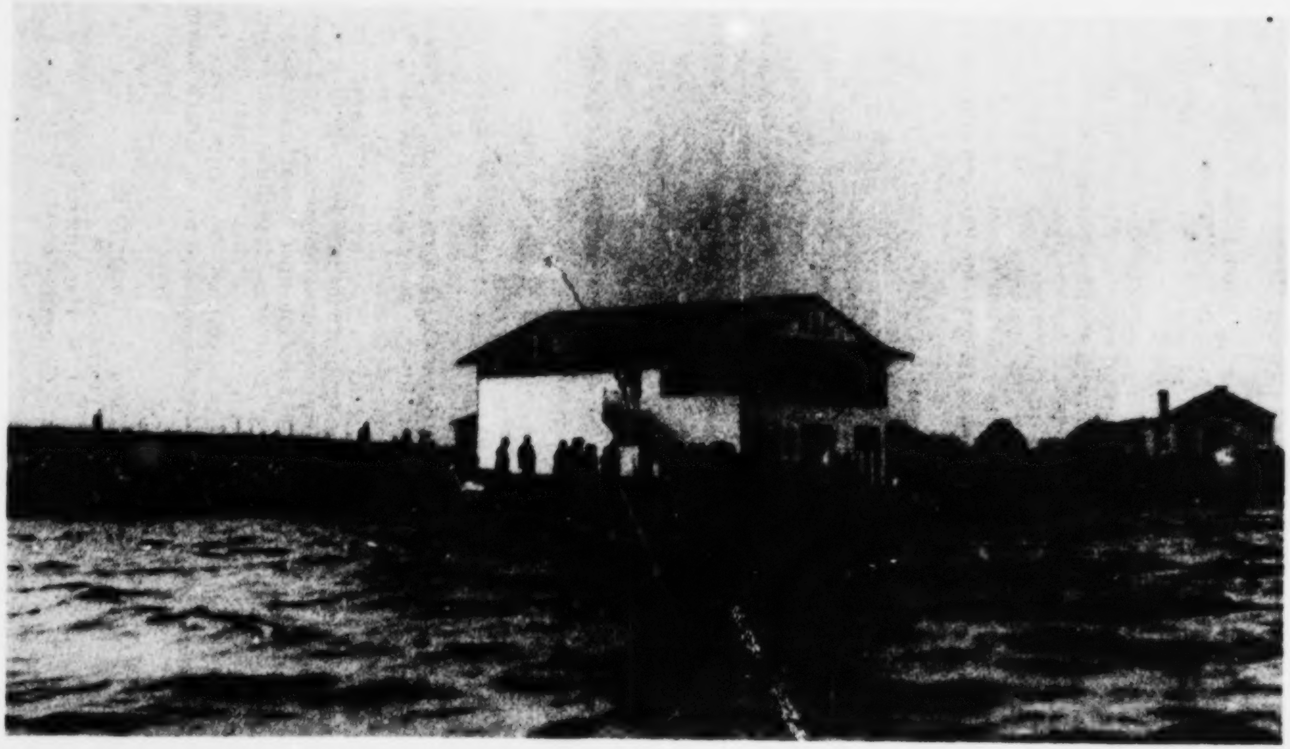
*The English spelling "Gaol" was used at this time but, for consistency, the spelling "Jail" is used throughout this book except in quotations and in the names of Acts.



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Wascana Creek, Regina, showing the Regina Boat Club in the foreground and the Territorial Jail at the far right.

2nd October (1888)

Dear Herchmer,

I wish you would write me an official letter to be placed before Sir John respecting the Gaol at Regina.

You might mention the year when the building was erected and that you understand the delay in opening it for the reception of prisoners has been the result of disputes between the Dept. of Justice and the Public Works Dept. with regard to interior arrangements; — that in consequence of the delay the prisoners are still confined in the Guard Room at Regina and you are informed that another year will elapse before the necessary alterations are completed; — that although there may be divisions of opinion as to the security of the new Gaol it surely must be as safe for the custody of prisoners as the wooden building attached to the Police Guard Room.

Yours very truly,
Mr. White
Comptroller[15]

Regina
Oct. 24/88

My Dear Mr. White —

I have written you officially as requested re goal, but at the same time as we have kept them [the prisoners] all summer, I should like to have them all winter as they are very useful for coal fatigues which our men hate.

yours truly
L.W. Herchmer[16]

The following letter, more formal in tone, accompanied Commissioner Herchmer's short note above:

North-West Mounted Police,
Head Quarters,
Regina Oct 24 1888

Sir

In reply to your letter dated Oct 2nd respecting the goal at Regina, I have the honor to inform you that this building was erected in 1886, and has been condemned for various reasons by the officials of the Dept of Justice on every occasion on which they have visited Regina, among other causes for rejection, are deficient drainage, indifferent heating appliances, and very defective water ducts, — and I am informed that if the necessary improvements are made it will be impossible to finish them before next spring, meanwhile I am informed that the prison staff is complete, and the building must certainly be a safer lockup for prisoners than the wooden prison attached to the Guard Room here.

Sir
I have the honor to be
Your obdt Sert
L.W. Herchmer
Commissioner[17]

In 1892 a Regina newspaper reporter toured the Regina Jail and painted a complimentary picture of the institution:

> As we walked down the corridors the prisoners, of whom there are about 20, were standing at attention just inside the open doors of their little cells. Some had been sewing, as could be seen by the thread hanging over their shoulders. One old man, a lunatic, was wandering around, and in response to the turnkey's 'get back to your cell' went in with the mute obedience of a dog. One little mit of a fellow had had his toes frozen, making him limp painfully. He is one of the Barnardo's boys, confined for vagrancy. There was only one inmate in the women's ward, and she is insane.[18]

The reference to Barnardo boys is an interesting commentary on the impact, as early as 1892, of Dr. Thomas J. Barnardo (1845-1905) who had established one of several British emigration programs for children. In fact a "Barnardo Home" in the form of an industrial training farm began operation in 1886 in Russell, Manitoba. By the time of this reporter's visit to the Regina Jail some five hundred boys had passed through the Russell farm. Whether the boys referred to in this *Leader* article came from Russell is not known. However the Elkorn, Manitoba *Advocate* in December of 1893 said: "The truth is when any crime is committed by an English lad, it has become popular to set him down as a Barnardo boy . . . ."

The reporter concluded the *Leader* article by congratulating the government for leaving the jail in the capable hands of Warden Lunan. This non-critical expression by the *Leader* was not unexpected. Warden Alexander Lawson Lunan, appointed jailor in 1887, was active in Conservative politics. The Regina *Leader's* founder, Nicholas Flood Davin, had become a Member of Parliament and was a staunch supporter of Sir John A. Macdonald. Davin and Lunan were close political associates.[19]

Jailor Lunan, born in 1851, managed the CPR's Canada North West Land Company office in Regina until his appointment, at age 36, as Regina's first jail warden. An active member of the Regina Board of Trade, Mr. Lunan also held the position of first president of the Liberal/Conservative Party.[20] He was not, by profession or experience, a correctional officer. Sir John White, Canada's Minister of the Interior, nevertheless wrote of Lunan, in a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald:

> Both the members [of the North-West Council from the Regina district whom White described as staunch conservatives] and a large number of our other friends, recommend Alex L. Lunan for appointment as Governor, and Dr. Robt. B. Cotton for the position of Jail Keeper.
>
> If these appointments are to be made, I think it would do a great deal of good if local gentlemen thus recommended were named.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

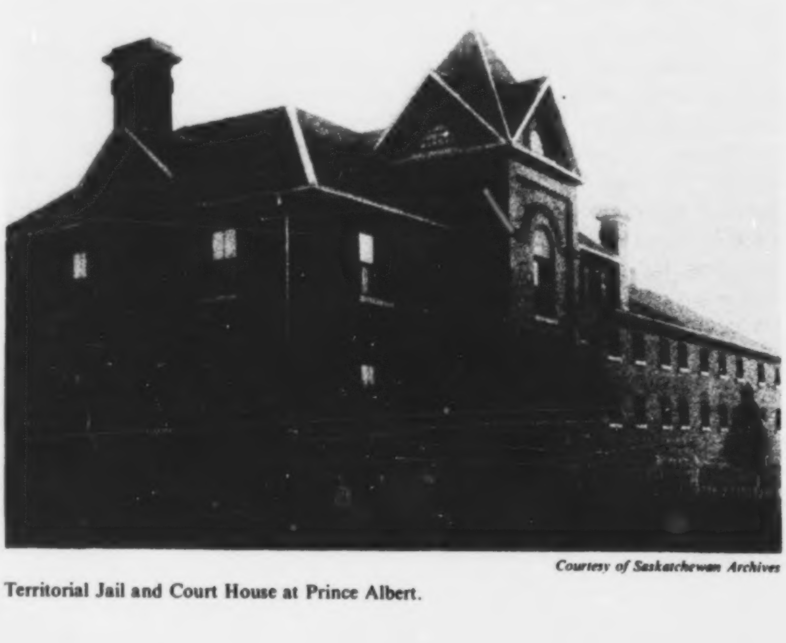
Regina Board of Trade. Alex Lunan, first Warden of Regina Jail, is the tall dark man, fifth from the left.

> Lunan, I have reason to believe, is a first rate man. He certainly looks like a man who has been cut out for a position of that kind.[21]

A picture of the Regina Board of Trade, including A.L. Lunan, shows the warden to be a tall man, of large build with broad shoulders. He served as warden for fourteen years until his dismissal in July 1901. Though political patronage played a part in his appointment, the change in the federal government, in 1896, did not lead to Lunan's removal. His dismissal in 1901 was due to drinking on the job and not, on the surface at least, to his continued active participation in Conservative politics. Political patronage, rather than professional expertise, played a part in senior prison appointments up to 1946.

Jail Administration

A second territorial jail, in what is present-day Saskatchewan, was constructed in 1886.[22] However, it was not open for the reception of prisoners until 1898.[23] The reason for this twelve-year delay is not known. Perhaps it had been as poorly constructed as the Regina Jail and was being repaired during this time. The Prince Albert Jail and the Court House occupied the same building. The wardens, Mr. Montgomery and later Mr. Kerr, experienced many of the same problems as Warden Lunan of Regina. In addition, the jailor in Prince Albert complained that having to share space with the Court House made it



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Territorial Jail and Court House at Prince Albert.

impossible for him to successfully enforce the rules and regulations of the twenty cell jail.[24] The warden urged that repairs be made. While some renovations occurred from time to time, it seems that they failed to protect the prison from the winter cold.

The annual reports of the federal Department of Justice from 1893 on, provide a glimpse of the day-to-day administration of the jails. It is difficult to reconstruct the rules and regulations of this early period except to suggest that the inmates were expected to work where there were suitable jobs. Prisoners could expect to spend a great deal of their sentence in a prison cell unless allowed to participate in the farming operations.

The following letter to the editor of the *Regina Leader* provides one personal account of inmate labour through the Regina Jail in May of 1894:

> As a visitor I called at the Regina jail a few days ago. I consider it only fair to Mr. Lunan, as Superintendent, and the other officials associated with him to bear testimony to the exceptionally good management of the institution.
>
> The cleanliness, economy and skill displayed by the executive in the saving of labor cannot be excelled; the prisoner's work, such as the laying of floors, buildings, excavations, &c, is both creditable and profitable. Mr. Lunan seems to thoroughly understand the secret of keeping discipline by giving the prisoners plenty of work and keeping them at it.
>
> My only regret on leaving was that Mr. Lunan's diversified gifts, talents and abilities should be confined to the circumference of a jail.[25]

The warrants of commitment for the period up to 1905 allowed for the justice of the peace or magistrate to state whether the offender must serve a sentence at hard labour. More often than not, hard labour appeared on the commitment.[26] To help carry out the sentence, the guards (at that time called turnkeys) were assigned to monitor the manual labour performed by the prisoners. For a few trusted inmates, such labour took the form of kitchen duties, boiler room maintenance, cleaning, jail repairs and in some cases, farming. In the latter case, the self-supporting nature of a large kitchen garden or farm operation reduced the operating expenses of the jail.[27]

On one occasion before 1905 the Regina Jail did come under close investigation by a Commission of Inquiry. Allegations by several staff members in 1896 led to a Department of Justice inquiry under Mr. T.C. Johnstone, later Chief Justice of Saskatchewan. Ex-turnkey Lambert claimed that deputy-warden Bennet and boiler room engineer McKee had, over several years, appropriated jail supplies. Some personal service by inmates on behalf of these officers also figured in the allegations. The Commissioner's Report to the Department of

Justice was not published but Mr. Bennet and Mr. McKee were relieved of their duties. Of interest is the fact that Mr. Bennet, as a veteran of six years at the Kingston Penitentiary, was the only one with professional experience in corrections. Warden Lunan remained unscathed though Commissioner Johnstone did admonish him for not keeping good accounts. As a result, a federal auditor later spent some time reviewing the accounting procedures at the jail. To his credit Warden Lunan had requested such help several years before in his annual report to the Inspector of Penitentiaries in Ottawa.[28]

Crime and Criminals

The citizens of Regina and other centres experienced a rapid resolution of judicial matters during this early period. Remands were short and trials took place soon after arrest.[29] In Regina, for example, an accused might be tried and, if found guilty, sentenced within a week. The same, however, did not apply to the small or isolated communities.

At the close of the century, the nature of the reported offences reflected the frontier lifestyle. Yet, in the North West Territories, life had changed considerably since the first influx of settlers. True, the frequency of charges for liquor-related offences still remained high but other types of crime became more prevalent. Vagrancy or no visible means of support was a common charge. Stealing a ride on the CPR trains caused many to lose their freedom for 15 days. The present day burglar appears to have had equally adept predecessors. For example, in a case in Moosomin in 1891 two persons were convicted of three separate charges of breaking and entering. The list of goods stolen was lengthy — a full two pages of the warrant. Each of the accused pleaded guilty and received sentences totalling five years at hard labour.[30]

The inmate files from these early years provide little background on those held in the Regina Jail. Those incarcerated brought few valuables with them to the jail probably because they owned few. In contrast to later years, the territorial and early provincial jails held few Indians. There are several possible explanations. Some semblance of a nomadic life was still available to the Indian and accepted by the growing white population. Also, the Indian people were very few in number and not increasing numerically. On the other hand, the white population of the North West Territories included a high percentage of foot-loose young men seeking their fortune and not likely to observe the liquor ordinances.

Warden Lunan in 1899 provided the federal Inspector of Penitentiaries with the following profiles of the prisoners in his care at Regina.[31] They show the small number of Indian people incarcerated and the short-term nature of the sentences.

Ethnic Origin	
White	18
Indian	5
Half-Breed	2
Total	25

Age	
Under 30 years	3
30 to 40 years	10
40 to 50 years	5
50 to 60 years	2
Total	25

Religion	
Roman Catholic	6
Church of England	5
Presbyterian	5
None (Indians)	4
Methodist	3
Lutheran	2
Total	25

Duration of Sentence

Sentence	*Male*	*Female*	*Sentence*	*Male*	*Female*
30 days	2	1	6 months	2	
1 month	8		1 year	1	
2 months	2		2 years	1	
3 months	3		3 years	1	
4 months	1		Total	25	1
5 months	4				

The variety of crimes was listed in the 1899 report:

Crime	
Assault	1
Assault with intent to murder	1
Carrying concealed firearms	1
Drunk (Indians)	5
Drunk and disorderly	1
Theft	4
Theft with assault	1

Crime	
Having a still	1
Housebreaking	2
Lunatic (all transferred to Brandon, Man.)	21
Supplying intoxicants to Indians	2
Vagrancy	6

A list of occupations of prisoners is also given in this 1899 Regina Jail Annual Report. Of the occupations listed, labourers made up the largest single group, with farmers next. Only one admission is shown as not having any occupation. This particular annual report is remarkable for its detail. Prior to this time the Regina Jail did not provide such statistics to the Inspector of Penitentiaries but after 1899 the Regina Jail report was similar to the annual reports put together by the wardens of the federal penitentiaries.

Both Warden Lunan and his superior in Ottawa, the Inspector of Penitentiaries, believed that at the turn of the century the Regina Jail was inappropriately utilized. Mr. Lunan claimed that the Mounted Police in their capacity as justices of the peace, sentenced the best working men to their own guardhouses, while the useless and worn-out characters were sent to Regina Jail. One can assume that the large number of persons classed as lunatic were among those of whom Lunan spoke. The Inspector of Penitentiaries considered Regina Jail unsuitable for serious offenders sentenced to two years or more because of its poor security. Though not technically a penitentiary, the Regina Jail on occasion held persons sentenced to more than two years.

Penal Philosophy

The territorial jails at Regina and Prince Albert in the North West Territories fell within the jurisdiction of the Ottawa-based Inspector of Penitentiaries in the Department of Justice. The Inspector seldom visited these two jails, and the local jail administration received little day-to-day direction from Ottawa. Contemporary correctional philosophies made little impact on these territorial jails. However, the Inspector's annual reports indicate that he was informed about new trends and criminological research. In fact, he inaugurated an annual wardens' conference in an effort to exchange views and perhaps familiarize wardens with developments in Europe and the United States.[32]

While there were occasional letters to the editor, as quoted on page 26, the general public did not often comment on the purpose of incarceration. Those who did comment regularly were the officials of the Dominion government, such as the Inspector of Penitentiaries and Commissioners of inquiries into disturbances. Inspector of Penitentiaries Moylan stated in his 1886 annual report that:

> Not many years since, the chief consideration respecting the convict was his money value to the prison, how much profit could be realized from his labour. That has given place to another view more in accordance with Christianity and with the two principles of political economy, namely: what can be done to restore this criminal a better man to society, capable of not alone supporting himself but of contributing, by his industry, to the revenue of the state.[33]

The territorial jails were far from Ottawa and probably never defined their purpose other than in custodial terms. The objective at Regina and Prince Albert was to find some activity for the prisoners whenever possible. Farming commended itself naturally to the prison authorities of the North West Territories. It was productive and at the same time, hopefully, character building. This emphasis on farming continued well after the 1905 provincial takeover of the two jails.

Origins of the Split in Prison Jurisdiction

As early as 1841, Canada's criminal law made reference to the split in penal responsibility.[34] Canada's criminal law today requires that those persons serving sentences of more than two years be held in a federal penitentiary. Sentences under two years are served in provincial prisons. The references to this jurisdictional split can be traced back through a well marked trail of legislation.[35]

Before Confederation (1867), Kingston was considered a "Provincial" penitentiary. In fact, an early provincial proposal of the 1867

Westminister Conference in London suggested that the provinces should have responsibility for penitentiaries.[36] The deliberations of the Fathers of Confederation do not provide any written reason for either the initial draft or the final outcome which left the provinces responsible for "prisons and reformatories." As a result, we are today confronted with the questions: Why the split in correctional jurisdiction? and, Given a split, why is it two years?

Why did the provinces give up operation of penitentiaries? One assumption must be that, even in 1867, the provinces considered the costs of running the penitentiaries to be too high. Another consideration may be found in the following arguments used by the British Cabinet in presenting the B.N.A. Act to the Parliament in Westminister. Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, described the purpose behind the federal-provincial distribution of powers to the British House of Lords on February 19, 1867:

> The real object which we have in view is to give to the Central Government those high functions and almost sovereign powers by which general principles and uniformity of legislation may be secured in those questions that are of common import to all the provinces; and, at the same time, to retain for each Province so ample a measure of municipal liberty and self-government as will allow and indeed compel, them to exercise those local powers which they can exercise *with great advantage to the community* [emphasis added].... To the Central Parliament will also be assigned the enactment of Criminal Law. The administration of it, indeed, is vested in the local authorities; but the power of general legislation is very properly reserved for the Central Parliament. And in this I cannot but note a wise departure from the system pursued in the United States, where each State is competent to deal as it may with its criminal code, and where an offence may be visited with one penalty in the State of New York and with another in the State of Virginia. The system here proposed is, I believe, a better and a safer one; and I trust that before long the Criminal Law of the four Provinces may be assimilated — and assimilated, I will add, upon the basis of English procedure.[37]

While Lord Carnorvon deplored the inconsistencies of the American approach, the Canadian split in jurisdiction clearly retained some duplication and overlap as well. If the penitentiary was thought to be a central government responsibility, then the provincial jails were seen to be properly local functions. What could not be foreseen in 1867 was the eventual scope of the provincial prison systems as a result of the two-year rule. Nor could the centralization of the English prison service, some ten years after the passage of Canada's constitution have been predicted.[38]

The question of Why two years? is equally difficult to resolve. The Reformatory movement, in Canada as elsewhere, carried with it the concept that a short sentence, would be sufficient to reintegrate young, first offenders into the community through education and vocational training. Reformatories and local jails may have been considered a matter which each province could best manage "with great advantage to the community" as stated by Lord Carnarvon.

In summary, then, the period prior to 1905 was characterized by the gradual transfer of authority for the maintenance of law and order from Britain and Eastern Canada to the North West Territories. The North West Mounted Police force was established, magistrates and justices of the peace were appointed and jails were built at Regina and Prince Albert. With the achievement of provincial status by Saskatchewan in 1905, the jails were transferred to the new province and the stage was set for a new period in the history of corrections.

2. PUNISHMENT: 1905-1946

In the development of Saskatchewan society, the period from 1905 to 1945 was an active one. According to Sir Wilfred Laurier, the twentieth century belonged to Canada. In part, this comment reflected the remarkable growth of western Canada both in human resources and in the successful cultivation of the prairie. The people who lived and worked in Saskatchewan were primarily of English, Scottish, Polish, German, Ukrainian, and Russian descent, who had answered the Dominion government's call to homestead on 160 acres. Many thousands came and few found life easy. They struggled to survive and their struggle made for independent-minded citizens who, paradoxically, depended much on cooperation to achieve their livelihood and some semblance of success.

Prairie society had an agrarian based economy. Saskatchewan, already a have-not province, suffered from the death of many young residents in the two World Wars. Hard times were never far from the doors of many farm homes. The Great Depression in the 1930s forced a large number of people to tighten their belts for an extended period of time. Poor crop conditions combined with lack of markets and little real purchasing power during the "dirty thirties" left few with more than their faith.

Although some aspects of prairie society may have been developing at a tremendous rate, in the area of penology there were very few changes.

Some new jail facilities were built during this period. Farming became one of the main features of the jails as they tried to become self-sufficient. The institutions were isolated from the community and there is little evidence that the general public was interested or concerned about conditions in them.

Punishment was the main philosophical thrust of penology during this period. The protection of society, by the confinement of criminals in institutions was another important factor, while the idea of reform was evident to a lesser extent. The jails were operated in a military-like manner; stern discipline and regimental procedure were paramount.

1906 Gaols Act

The territorial jails at Prince Albert and Regina became provincial jails in 1905 through the transfer of the facilities and their staff to the new provincial government of Saskatchewan. In 1906 provincial legislation was enacted to provide for the administration and maintenance of the jails and prisoners.

The 1906 legislation provided for both the Department of the Attorney General and the Department of Public Works to administer the two provincial jails. During the first nine years, Public Works maintained the buildings and the grounds. The Attorney General's Department, according to the Province's first piece of enabling legislation in corrections, had the discretion to provide any discharged prisoner with transportation home and a suitable outfit of clothes. Additionally, the Attorney General's Department could purchase books for the jail libraries and equipment for classroom instruction of sentenced inmates. This 1906 Gaols Act required that the Attorney General submit an annual report on the condition of the prisoners along with the operating costs.[1] It would appear that such annual reports as early as 1906. In 1915 an amendment to the Gaols Act fact, the Public Works Department included the jails in its own annual reports as early as 1906. In 1915 an amendment to the Goals Act recognized in law what appeared to be the standard practice. The amendment gave Public Works sole management of the jails.[2] There was no debate in the Legislature and no evidence of public debate relating to the Gaols Act or the amendment of it.

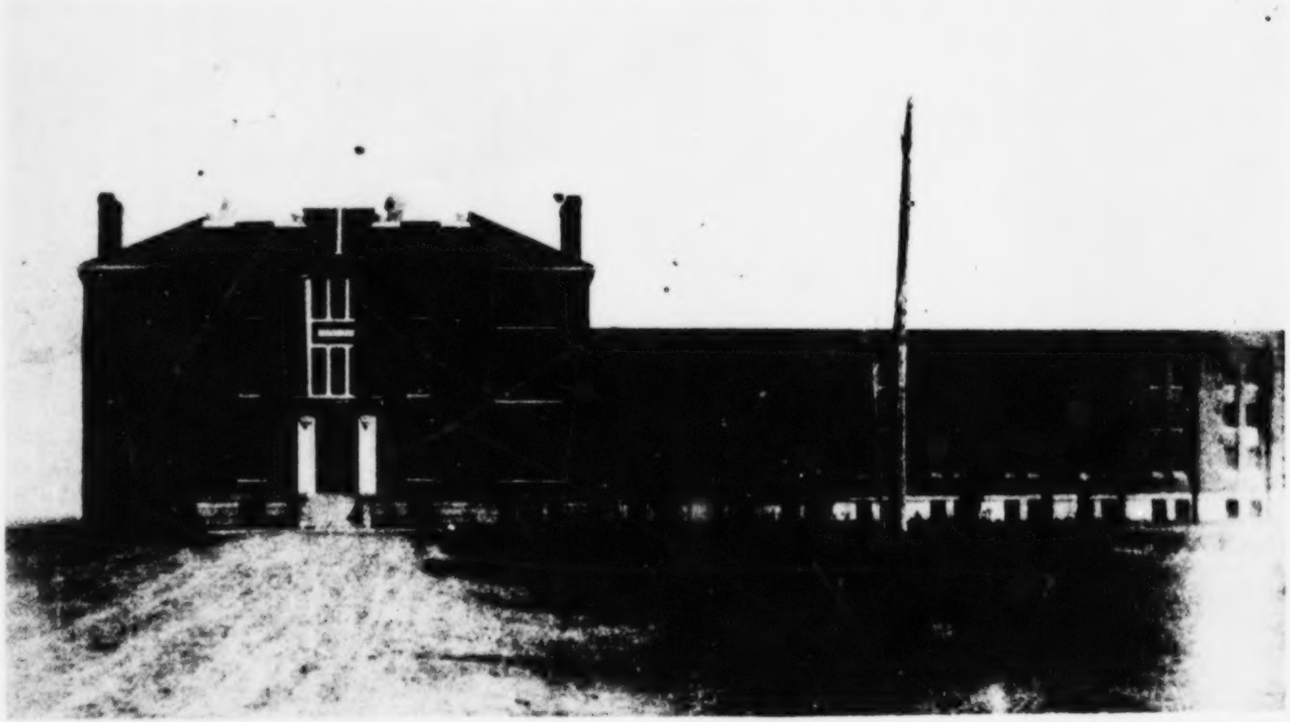
There are few clues in the 1906 Act to the philosophy of corrections of this early era. The language of the Act is terse and to the point, affording one little opportunity to assume the presence of a particularly hard or soft attitude toward offenders. Certain humanitarian considerations play a part in the legislation along with a commitment to equip the classrooms. Neither reference would suggest that provincial status immediately altered the rules under which inmates served their sentence. With few changes, this Act remained in force until 1950.

Physical Aspects

Buildings

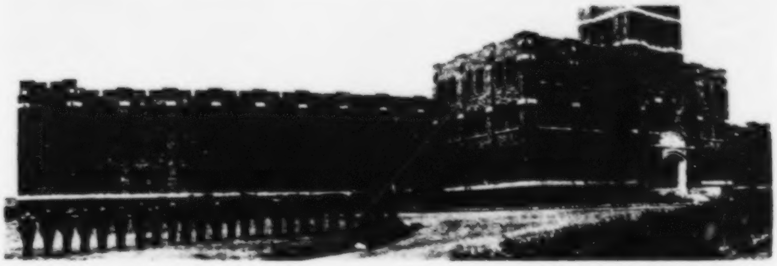
Although the Regina Jail had been built in 1885/86, by 1907 it was structurally unfit for its purpose. Its first warden, A.L. Lunan, complained bitterly of the poor construction. The jailor at Prince Albert also expressed concern about the inadequate facilities which housed both a court house and the jail.[3]

In November 1907 the Inspector of Buildings for the Department of Public Works reported that a windstorm might be enough to topple the Regina Jail. "It is decidedly dangerous," the report states, "to allow the building to be used for jail purposes .... I have no hesitation in condemning the building as unsafe for habitation."[4]



Taken from Annual Report, Dept. of Public Works, 1915.

Regina's New Jail, 1915.



Prince Albert Jail, 1920s.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

A new Regina jail opened in the spring of 1915 with accommodation for 150 prisoners. One can only presume that the 1907 report on Regina's jail did not cause the government to place a new jail above other priorities, and in fact, the new Prince Albert jail was not built until 1921. Some public pressure did exist to have the Regina Jail moved from the banks of Wascana Creek. In 1907 Jailor Black described the sewage system of the jail as a continual source of problems. He said that the cesspool had to be pumped out onto the surrounding fields. This procedure caused the air around the building to be extremely malodorous. Apparently there were numerous complaints about this situation from local residents and members of the Regina Boat Club, since they used this reservoir area for swimming and other recreation.[5]

At Moosomin in 1908 the provincial government erected a jail for male offenders only. The prison architect apparently relied on earlier models as the plans for the Moosomin Jail bear a strong resemblance to Regina's Territorial Jail. In the cells at Moosomin could be found a small cot, sink and toilet. The latter item was a concession, perhaps, to the isolation philosophy whereby the offender would be left in his essentially self-contained cell. Regina's Territorial Jail had a common toilet at the end of the wing or range. Such connections between architecture and philosophy were neither new nor unique in the field of corrections. A 1915 news article described the newly completed Regina Jail as a "veritable palace . . . ." However, it quickly followed with this statement of clarification: "There is no aim to give the prisoners luxuries, but they are treated as human beings and their environment is such as to develop a sense of self-respect and a longing to give expression to that better self in each as opportunity comes . . . ." This same reporter visited the whole jail, including the 640-acre farm. The article made references to the many features of the new prison:

> Each cell is fitted with a bed, the framework of which is steel and hinged from the wall so that it cannot be moved except to fold up in the day time; an enamel wash basin and lavatory, with plenty of running water, and a table. The tables were all made by the

> prisoners themselves. Outside each cell there is an electric light which provides illumination up to 9:00 p.m. when cell lights are turned out for the night. In contrast to the old style of cell, which seemed to have been designed with the express purpose of excluding as much light as possible, the cells in the new jail are built with full width steel windows so that every corner is fully lighted. They are finished in white brick and concrete and to ensure perfect ventilation there is an air duct in the brick wall at the rear of each cell. . . . The house phones and electric alarm signals give the guards instant connection with any part of the buiding.[6]

This new Regina Jail in 1915 was, of course, a much better place to live and work in than its predecessor had been. There was a notable emphasis on sturdy construction; the jail was made of concrete and steel. This exemplifies the importance of security in the jails of this period.

A temporary jail was established at Wolseley from 1913 to 1915 because of congestion in the Maple Creek and Yorkton guardrooms. It had accommodation for thirty prisoners and was primarily for short term offenders and trusties. In 1915 the congestion was alleviated by the provision for short term prisoners to be released from jail if they desired to join the Canadian military contingents for service abroad.[7]

When Prince Albert's new jail opened in 1921 it included a section designated for female offenders. In part because of the incarceration of a large number of the Doukhobor people, the women's wing of Prince Albert Jail became overcrowded. In 1930 it was closed and from then until 1941 women sentenced to prison served their time at an old, renovated high school in Battleford.[8] In 1941 the women prisoners were moved back to the section of the men's jail in Prince Albert which they had formerly occupied. In 1967 a new separate facility for women, Pine Grove, was constructed.

Farms

There were farms attached to the Regina Jail, Moosomin Jail, and Prince Albert Jail (men's section). The Department of Public Works program and policy files from 1905 to 1945 give the impression that farming was a primary function of the jails. There are extensive records, reports, and letters regarding farm machinery, animals, vegetables, and grain crops. Prisoners were rarely mentioned in the files except in the event of an escape, disturbance, or discipline problem. The Annual Reports of the jails during this time also tended to concentrate on the farming operation. For example, the wardens' letters in the Annual Reports, which made mention of most aspects of the jail, tended to emphasize the farming activities. An example is seen in the following excerpt from the letter written by the warden of the Regina Jail in the 1942 Annual Report.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Aerial view of Prince Albert Jail Farm, 1942.

Courtesy of Mrs. Janet Paley

Battleford Women's Jail, 1930s.

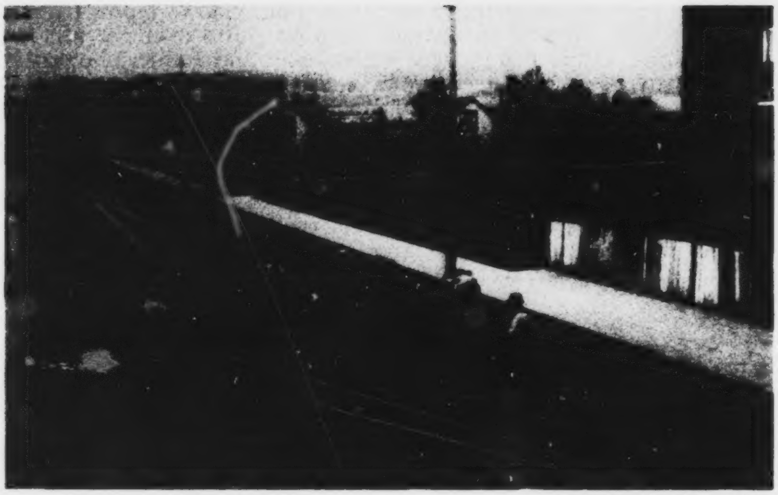
> Turning to our farm activities, I am glad to report that the past year showed an increase in production over the last few seasons. Grain yields were higher, hay and fodder showed an improvement, and vegetables were good, except that grasshoppers destroyed most of the carrot crop in the early stage and the second sowing did not germinate soon enough to mature.
>
> No mares were bred this season as it was thought that there was sufficient young stock on hand for replacements for a time.
>
> Cattle showed a decided increase, and owing to the large percentage of heifer calves raised, the existing accommodation was all needed by spring, and in view of the coming calf crop, together with the increase in growth of the young stock on hand, some further arrangement will be necessary before next winter. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining suitable prison labour for milking, the installation of a milking machine is a point for future consideration.
>
> In the swine department, several of the older sows have been replaced, and an effort made to have litters coming in succession the year round. In this connection it might be stated that when young pigs are moved from the brooder house into the large piggery during winter and spring, they invariably suffer a severe setback, due to difference in temperature and humidity, and before winter litters can be successfully brought to maturity, the larger building will need to be made warmer, less draughty and more sanitary.
>
> During the winter months, teams were engaged in hauling coal and gravel; also the year's accumulation of manure, which consisted of around six hundred loads, was hauled and spread on the land.[9]

Aside from the warden's reference to farming there was also a detailed report contained in the Annual Report of the jails, containing an itemized account of all machinery, livestock, farm buildings, crops, and details of expenditures and profits of the farms.

Mr. Jock Brown, first employed at the Prince Albert Jail in 1938, stated that the farm served as the jail's number one operational priority. However, the 1946 Penal Commission (the first and only Commission to investigate the jails in Saskatchewan) indicated that only trusted prisoners (known as trusties) were allowed to work on the farms. The trusties were under supervision of an armed guard. The majority of prisoners spent a good deal of time in the jail rarely going further than the walled exercise yard.[10]

The farms were large. For example, Regina Jail farm consisted of 640 acres of which 550 were under cultivation in 1915. Prince Albert Jail farm had 272 acres under cultivation in 1914 and it required the labour of about 20 prisoners full time in order to operate it.[11]

There was a tremendous volume of production from the farms. For example, the 1914-1915 Annual Report from Regina Jail indicates that it produced 2,900 bushels of wheat, 1,400 bushels of oats, 990 bushels of barley, 1,181 bushels of potatoes and 1,000 bushels of other



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Herding Cattle, Prince Albert Jail Farm, 1920s.

vegetables. Also, Moosomin Jail had a fruit orchard which produced apples and plums.[12] Some of this produce was used by the jail. For example, some of the vegetables were used in the jail kitchens, and revenue came from the sale of farm products to the general public. Table 2 illustrates the revenue generated from the jail farms in 1943-44.

The jails took great pride in the entire farming operation including their prize-winning purebred livestock which was shown at fairs and other livestock shows. In 1939 the warden of Prince Albert Jail described the good fortune of the jails in possessing "beautiful fertile rolling farm lands."[13] This warden also suggested that farming would assist in reforming the prisoners. He stated that the farm "is the main source of reconstructing the many broken lives which pass through our prison."[14]

Escapes and Security

Escapes or attempted escapes by prisoners were recurring problems in the jails in the province. Table 3 indicates the number of escapes from Regina Jail during the 1930s. From a reading of the program and policy files it is evident that escapes were taken with extreme seriousness by jail officials for though the number of escapes was small there were always extensive reports of the circumstances surrounding each of them.

The seriousness of escapes is further exemplified in the 1915 Rules and Regulations which set out, "in the event of a prisoner having

TABLE 2

TOTAL VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTION AND SALES FOR 1943-44

STATEMENT No. 1 — Total Value of Farm Production and Sales, 1943-44

Institution	Livestock and Products		Cereal and Fortage Crops	Vegetables	Fruit	Total	Total	Aggregate
	Sales to* Institution	Sales to Public	Sales to Institution	Sales to Institution	Sales to Institution	Sales to Institution	Sales to Public	Value of Sales
Battleford Hospital	$43,347.94	$10,931.73	$11,569.98	$12,428.71	$175.12	$ 67,521.75	$10,931.73	$ 78,453.48
Weyburn Hospital	8,480.62	8,556.42	11,914.77	2,449.57	218.07	23,063.03	8,556.42	31,619.45
Regina Gaol	5,486.57	10,672.56	7,330.83	2,128.74	—	14,946.14	10,672.56	25,618.70
Prince Albert Gaol	10,926.94	6,072.56	5,549.27	808.79	19.20	17,304.20	6,072.56	23,376.76
Moosomin Gaol	1,318.55	4,130.29	2,097.88	289.25	—	3,705.68	4,130.29	7,835.97
Industrial School	—	—	—	143.93	—	143.93	—	143.93
Totals	$69,560.62	$40,363.56	$38,462.73	$18,248.99	$412.39	$126,684.73	$40,363.56	$167,048.29

STATEMENT No. 2 — Institutional Farm Livestock Products, 1943-44.

	Milk		Beef		Pork		Mutton and Lamb		Poultry		Eggs		
	Qts.	Value	lbs.	Value	lbs.	Value	lbs.	Value	lbs.	Value	Doz.	Value	Total Value
Battleford Hospital	419,498	$27,267.37	15,707	$2,630.92	94,132	$ 7,501.85	2,178	$206.25	12,848	$1,818.10	19,180	$3,923.45	$43,347.94
Weyburn Hospital	—	—	—	—	89,370	7,149.60	—	—	2,852	427.67	4,249	903.35	8,480.62
Regina Gaol	82,043	5,332.81	—	—	360	55.36	—	—	—	—	393	98.40	5,486.57
Prince Albert Gaol	155,882	10,132.32	2,565	422.10	1,940	154.90	—	—	95	14.25	815	203.37	10,926.94
Moosomin Gaol	11,309	735.09	2,495	548.90	432	34.56	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,318.55
Industrial School	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	668,732	$43,467.59	20,767	$3,601.92	186,234	$14,896.27	2,178	$206.25	15,795	$2,260.02	24,637	$5,128.57	$69,560.62

* Sales to Institution indicates products consumed by that institution.

Source: *Annual Report*, Saskatchewan Dept. of Public Works, 1944, p. 37.

TABLE 3

MOVEMENT OF PRISONERS FROM REGINA JAIL
1930-1940.

	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
Admissions	1,707	1,366	1,305	1,371	998	1,127	1,287	1,126	1,576	1,652
Discharges:										
By Expiation of Sentence	1,323	1,074	1,070	1,158	803	944	1,097	1,080	1,387	1,489
By Pardon	14	21	12	48	50	18	32	25	23	28
By Ticket to Leave	35	58	64	56	13	12	17	8	7	6
By Competent Authority	256	166	131	112	125	171	54	51	87	123
Transferred to other Penal Institutions	20	20	5	10	4	4	12	5	5	13
Transferred to Mental Hospitals	7	4	13	9	8	8	6	6	10	4
Deported	31	34	13	9	7	2	5	2	7	2
Escaped	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	-
Died of Natural Causes	1	—	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	—
Legal Executions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Suicide	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
Daily Average in Custody During the Year	237	208	180	198	166	150	186	165	181	167

Source: *Annual Report*, Saskatchewan Dept. of Public Works, 1940.

attempted [escape], the Gaoler may direct that a ball and chain be attached to the ankle of such prisoner, or that two or more prisoners who may have attempted to escape shall be chained together while going to and from work."[15] This procedure remained in the Rules and Regulations throughout this period.

An adequate supply of leg irons and organ boots (heavy steel boots) were kept on hand for prisoners who might attempt to escape. In 1928 Warden Alan Sharp of the Moosomin Jail ordered six pair of leg irons and six pairs of organ boots. This was a large supply considering that Moosomin was used only for first offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one and that the daily average in this jail in 1928-29 was between 13.1 and 33.8 prisoners.[16]

The Rules and Regulations set out that a guard could use a lethal or non-lethal weapon if it was the only way in which he could stop a prisoner from escaping. This point stresses the importance of security in the jails. Also, guards who supervised prisoners outside the walls of the jail carried firearms.[17]

Security was a very important element of the jails and as previously mentioned was reflected in the physical construction of the jails. The three men's jails were medium security, and with the addition of high walls with towers and armed guards, they would have become maximum security. It is surprising that the Women's Jail, which contained prisoners least threatening to society, approached maximum security. The only place where women were allowed outside of the main building was an exercise yard surrounded by a fifteen foot brick and cement wall. This indicates the overriding concern for security which existed in the jails at this time. It also might reflect another problem. The proximity of the female and male prisoners in the Prince Albert Jail made it tempting for the prisoners to devise methods of communication. For example, they would send kites* or transmit code messages on the heating pipes. This communication caused the staff considerable concern and they spent a great deal of time trying to control this situation.[18]

Social Milieu

In general the administration of the jails in Saskatchewan underwent little noticeable change from 1905 to 1945. Efforts were concentrated on the maintenance of the system and there was little internal pressure for change. The building of the new jails at Prince Albert and just outside Regina was the major contribution by government to penal reform.

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*A slang term for messages sent between prisoners.

The jails in Saskatchewan were patterned in a fashion similar to the American penal systems which had developed in the nineteenth century. One of these, the Auburn system, was based on the principle of congregate work by day, separation by night, and the rule of absolute silence. Some other principles from the Auburn system adopted in Saskatchewan's Rules and Regulations were: stern discipline, no intercourse with the outside world, rigidly enforced internal rules, and the idea that convicts should be molded, like clay in the potter's hands. Solitude through silence promoted repentance by the wrongdoer and prevented further deterioration of the convict's character by not allowing any communication with other wrongdoers. Another American approach, the Pennsylvania system, employed combinations of hard physical labour, seclusion, and homily (religious instruction) as methods of reformation.[19] It is probable that similar methods of reform were used in Saskatchewan jails during 1905-1945, although they were rarely described as such. However, at the close of Departmental Annual Reports during this period, the spiritual and mental health of the prisoners, the library, and the work of the prisoners were always mentioned briefly. So that in Saskatchewan, though the elements of social control, such as custody, security, retribution, and deterrence, loomed large, the element of reform was also evident.

The poor living conditions existing in the jails at this time are vividly described in the following excerpts from a letter written by inmates of the Battleford Jail for Women to the Minister of Public Works in 1931:

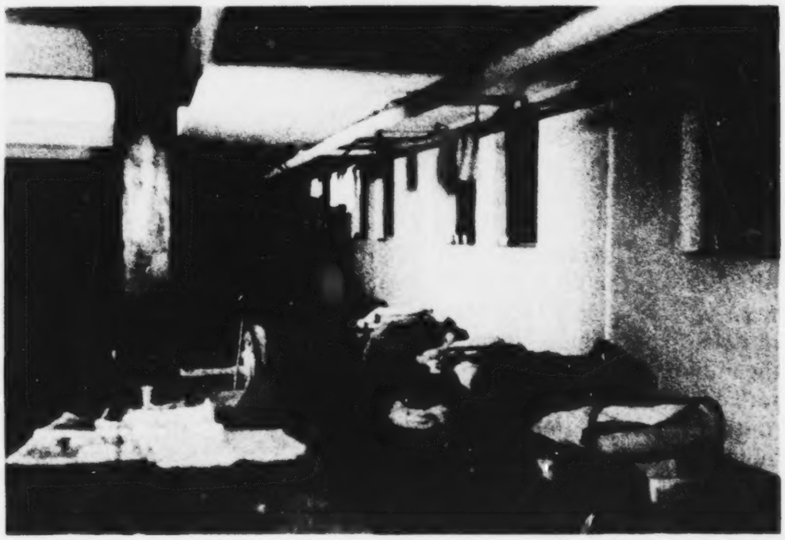
> We have no sanitary condition here whatever for prisoners in cells. Prisoners in solitary confinement with the exception of 50 to 60 minutes exercise a day and 3 or 4 who are at liberty to do the work others are locked in constantly from daylight until daylight in cells (no larger than a piano box). They are 7 x 5 x 6½ or 7 no larger with a bed in there and for sanitary convenience we have nothing but a pail which is emptyed at 6 am and 5 pm between times must stand right in cell with prisoner.... The meals are almost uneatable a prisoner starves on the grub we get here.... Prisoners have been here for 2 mths with desease and never got a treatment for same and the warden knowing prisoner had same.... We are prisoners it is true and we no doubt need punishment but God never entended for us to be treated like rats or dogs or he would have made us that way instead of women.... There are 24 cells in this place and there are 40 prisoners at present and they are sleeping on the floor. One room not bigger than 14 x 18 and it has 6 women in all old and who are apt to be feeble with age and they are sleeping on the floors and doing 7 + 6 mths. and are from 50 to 63 yrs. old.... Some cells here are just like black cells dark always.[20]

However, one should keep in mind that living conditions for people outside were not very much better than in the jails, particularly during the Depression in the 1930s. For example, in 1934 one Saskatchewan farmer's wife describes the living conditions of her family.

> . . . we are living in a shack two rooms a bed room just enough room for two beds and the house is cold theres two inches of ice freezes on the water in the house cold nights we are shivering in bed at night we have no matresses on our beds, only gunny sacks & not enough blankets on our beds. Mr. Warden has no under wear no top shirt no socks only rags on his feet no trousers only overauls & they are done for . . . .[21]

In the women's jail, from 1930 to 1949 hay ticks were used for the prisoners' beds. The hay from each prisoner's tick was burned after she was discharged. In 1933 the jail caretaker wrote to the Deputy Minister of Public Works complaining about the onerous task of personally having to empty these hay ticks. He explained that many of the prisoners were diseased and as a result the hay ticks were often very dirty.[22]

Evidence suggests that conditions in the jails were not very sanitary. For example, vermin were periodically a problem in the jails. In 1923, the Deputy Minister wrote to the Warden of the Prince Albert Jail, just prior to the move from the old jail to the new one. He asked the warden to ensure that everything was free from vermin so that they would not get into the new jail.[23]



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Prisoners Sleeping in the Corridors at Regina Jail.

In these early years, overcrowding in the jails added to the poor conditions. A letter sent in 1912 from Inspector J.W. Spalding, officer commanding No. 2 Guard Room, to the Officer Commanding "Depot" Division indicated the intense overcrowding in this guardroom. Sometimes in the winter months it held in excess of 100 prisoners. Overcrowding remained a recurring problem in the jails. For example, in 1929 the warden of Prince Albert Jail indicated that there were 213 male prisoners in custody, 50 of whom were sleeping on the floors in the corridors.[24]

The jails were isolated from the outside community by distance. This isolation policy was made explicit by several of the Rules and Regulations governing jails. Officers and guards were forbidden to "use as a topic of conversation incidents that have occurred during the performance of their duties . . . ." Also the Rules and Regulations stated that officers and guards were not allowed to give out any information about jail affairs without the permission of the minister. The permission of the warden was required before prisoners could speak to, or even look at, any visitors who came through the jail. Relatives were allowed to visit the prisoners, but the visits had to take place in the presence of an officer or guard. Prisoners were allowed to consult with their legal adviser or clergyman. However, no person was allowed to interview a prisoner with a view to publishing a report or interview.[25]

Stern discipline was very important in the jails. In order to maintain this discipline it was thought to be desirable for wardens, officers, and guards to have had previous military training. Captain A. Broughton, who became warden at Prince Albert Jail in the 1940s, received from his colonel a letter of recommendation which said that he had had a good deal of army experience and, "during all of his time, he has been successful in handling men, and is a good disciplinarian."[26]

Considerable regimentation and many military-like practices began to appear in Saskatchewan jails. Two such practices were: the marching, which was required of prisoners going to and from their work as well as to and from their meals; and the turning out of prisoners on the sounding of the morning gong. Officers and guards wore uniforms. Mr. Jack Mather, Deputy Warden of Moosomin Jail in 1945, likened the uniform worn by the officers and guards to that of the military. He also remarked that when the warden or deputy warden walked through the cell block all the guards would salute them. A journalist given a tour of the Regina Jail in 1928 stated: "The entire building gives one the impression that it is a ship that is being inspected rather than an institution many hundreds of miles inland."[27]

Upon admittance to the jail, the prisoner's personal effects were taken from him, he was given a jail uniform, and got a very short haircut for the stated purposes of health and cleanliness. Prisoners were referred to by cell number and not by name.[28] These procedures could be viewed as humiliating and retributive.

The Minister of the Department of Public Works specified the colour and quality of the prisoners' uniforms. All male prisoners were clad in khaki trousers, shirts, tunics, and caps, and all female prisoners wore dresses made of khaki.[29]

Rules and Regulations

The Rules and Regulations for the jails were standardized in 1915, then revised in 1921 and amended again in 1943. These Rules and Regulations of the jails curbed behaviour which might endanger security; promoted peacefulness, hard labour, regimental procedure; and encouraged stern discipline and absolute obedience. The 1943 issue of the rules and regulations observes:

> (1) The first duty of the prisoner is strict obedience.
>
> (2) On entering the gaol the prisoners must conduct themselves properly, avoiding unnecessary noise. They must preserve silence except when spoken to by an officer. Any conversation shall be in a low respectful voice and manner. Conversation between prisoners is not allowed except by permission of the Officer under whose charge they are.
>
> (3) A prisoner must not speak to any visitor, nor give to or receive from them, anything, without the permission of the Warden.
>
> (4) Prisoners must not leave the ranks of their place of employment without permission. If sick or unable to work, they must make the fact known to the officer or guard in charge and act as he may direct.
>
> (5) Prisoners must approach an officer or guard in a respectful manner. Prisoners passing through the yard and to and from work, must walk in single file.
>
> (6) On reaching their cells, prisoners must stand at their cell gate, and at a given signal they shall step in, close the door up to the lock, keeping hold until the second signal is given, when they shall close it altogether, remaining at the gate until a count is made, if necessary.
>
> (7) Every prisoner must wash himself thoroughly and preserve in every respect personal cleanliness. He must keep his clothing neat and clean. On no account must a prisoner go to bed with his clothes on. He must keep his cell, bed, bedding and furniture clean and in good order. No marking or scratching of or posting of pictures on the walls, or spitting on the floors will be allowed. Prisoners are not allowed to exchange among themselves, or make any alterations in their clothing, or the furniture of their cells, without the consent of the Warden. At the sounding of the night gong, all prisoners must undress and retire.
>
> (8) At the sounding of the morning gong, every prisoner must turn out, dress, make up his bed neatly, and be ready for marching out. He shall not leave his cell without being properly dressed. At the signal he must step out of his cell.

> (9) Prisoners shall not be allowed to stare at visitors or strangers passing through. No prisoners shall suffer his attention to be taken from his work to look at any person.
> (10) At religious services, silence must be observed, and strict attention given to the service. Spitting on the stairs, or floors, or shuffling of feet, and all unnecessary noise is strictly forbidden.
> (11) Prisoners will be required to bathe once a week unless excused by the surgeon.
> (12) Prisoners shall be required to labour diligently during the hours detailed for work; and in marching to and from their cells, they shall observe such order as may be directed by the Warden; they shall be required to communicate with the officers or guards in a respectful manner, and with purity; they must conduct themselves with perfect order, and in strict obedience to the direction of their officer or guard.[30]

Offences against jail regulations were set out in 1915; they were extended and more clearly detailed in 1943. Aside from reflecting the stern approach of the prison administration the rules also reflect prevailing attitudes towards prisoners and presuppositions about their behaviour. These presuppositions characterize many prisoners as violent, disrespectful, idle, careless, irreverent, indecent, dishonest, unclean and lazy. The offences specified in the 1943 Rules and Regulations are as follows:

> A prisoner shall be guilty of violating the gaol rules and regulations if he:
> (1) Assaults or attempts to assault any gaol officer, guard, employee or servant.
> (2) Disobeys any order of the Warden, or any other officer or guard of the gaol.
> (3) Treats with disrespect any officer or guard of the gaol, or any visitor, or any person employed in connection with gaol.
> (4) Is idle, careless or negligent at work or refuses to work.
> (5) Behaves irreverently in Chapel.
> (6) Swears, curses or uses any abusive, insolent, threatening, or other improper language.
> (7) Is indecent in language, act or gesture.
> (8) Commits or attempts to commit assault upon another prisoner.
> (9) Sing, whistles, shouts or makes any unnecessary noise.
> (10) Leaves his cell or other point of location, or his place of work without permission.
> (11) Leaves the gang to which he has been attached without permission.
> (12) Enters the cell of another prisoner, unless by permission of an officer or guard, or in the performance of duties assigned to him.
> (13) Wilfully destroys or damages any gaol property.
> (14) Has in his cell or possession any money or articles whatsoever, other than such as are permitted.
> (15) Neglects to keep his person, clothing, bedding and cell clean and neat.

(16) Is, at any time, in any place, where he ought not to be, or has not received permission to be.
(17) Offers to an officer or guard a bribe of any kind whatsoever.
(18) Neglects to shut the gate of his cell after entering, or endeavours to open his cell gate.
(19) Neglects to rise promptly on the ringing of the first bell in the morning.
(20) In any way offends against good order and discipline.[31]

The landmark Archambault Commission which investigated Canada's federal penal system in 1938 felt that discipline had to be sternly enforced and authority respected or proper management could not be maintained in the jails. The commissioners did conclude, however, that too many trivial offences existed which made it impossible for prisoners not to break some of the rules. They felt that a great many strict regulations simply encouraged demoralization and concealment.[32]

Some of the disciplinary sanctions which were handed out for the above violations were set out in 1915 and were extended in 1943. Primarily the sanctions were extended to include the withdrawal of privileges. This type of treatment demotes adults to the status of children. The 1943 Rules and Regulations indicate that for any rule violation the warden could impose one or more of the following punishments:

(1) Forfeiture of tobacco and smoking privileges.
(2) Forfeiture of library privileges.
(3) Forfeiture of privileges of seeing visitors.
(4) Forfeiture of letter writing privileges.
(5) Forfeiture of whole, or part of remission of sentence earned.
(6) Hard bed, that is the removal of the straw tick from the bedstead, sufficient covering, however, according to the season, to be left.
(7) Bread and water diet for a period not exceeding five consecutive days.
(8) Confinement in the dark cell with bread and water diet, for a period not exceeding three days, during which period the prisoner must be visited not less than three times a day three times per night, at reasonable intervals.
(9) A violent prisoner may be restrained by handcuffing him to his cell or by placing him in a straight jacket.[33]

The use of the dark cell was a common form of punishment. A 1915 news article describing the Regina Jail observed that

> the punishment cells are in large rooms by themselves, and the windows are fitted with iron shutters so the room can be darkened. The cells contain nothing but a bed and wash bowl, and during the days the bed is taken out so that the refractory prisoner is forced either to remain standing or lie down on the bare concrete floor. It is stated that from 18 to 24 hours of this stark room treatment is generally sufficient to curb fits of insubordination — or 3 days at the outside.[34]

As late as 1946 the dark cell punishment was still in use at the Prince Albert Jail for Men and in the Moosomin Jail.[35]

Prisoners' Rights and Privileges

According to the Rules and Regulations of 1915, every prisoner could complain to the jailor of any act on the part of an officer or other prisoners which affected his privileges. However, it is rather difficult to ascertain from the same Rules and Regulations exactly what the rights (if any) and privileges of prisoners were at the time. Offences of prisoners were set out much more explicitly than were the few privileges they were given. Normally, a prisoner might expect to receive food, shelter and medical services and not much more.

Certain rights or privileges appeared in the 1915 Rules:

(1) Prisoners were not compelled to see clergymen of a different creed than their own.
(2) Prisoners had the right to complain to the jailor of any act by an official or prisoner which affected his rights and privileges.
(3) Prisoners were allowed to exercise in the open air unless the jailor had reason not to allow them to.
(4) Prisoners were allowed to consult with legal advisers and clergymen.
(5) Prisoners were allowed to have visitors (relatives) on certain set days and hours.
(6) Prisoners were allowed to read books from the jail library within certain prescribed hours.
(7) No punishment or deprivations were to be given to prisoners except by the authority of the jailor.
(8) The punishments a prisoner was to receive were set out.
(9) The hours of labour (maximum and minimum) were set out.
(10) Prisoners awaiting trial, those convicted of misdemeanors of a political character, those in custody under civil process or for contempt of court, detained witnesses, and lunatics could procure their own food and bedding subject to the approval of the jailor.
(11) Prisoners awaiting trial or in custody under civil process could send and receive letters at all reasonable times, provided that the contents were not subversive of jail discipline. Prisoners under sentence could write to relatives only once every two weeks unless they had the special consent of the jailor.[36]

Visits by relatives were considered a privilege and were allowed once per week for approximately two hours. At Regina and Moosomin Jails there were visiting rooms where visits were supervised by a guard. In Prince Albert a wire mesh separated prisoners from their visitors.[37] Prisoners at Regina saw their legal or spiritual advisors at any hour if such advisors had the written consent of the warden. Visiting at Regina

Jail took place on Thursday from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. and on Sunday from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Prison libraries were viewed as a luxury, as were newspapers and any form of education. Mr. Christian Smith, a crime reporter, and for some years city editor for the Saskatoon *Star Phoenix* in the 1930s, and an active person in establishing the John Howard Society in Saskatoon in 1940, reported that, "the prison libraries consisted of a number of books that nobody would read and that had been re-bound by one of the inmates with wrapping paper." Similarly, the Archambault Commission criticized the prison libraries. Books, the Commission claimed, were ordered for prison libraries in a haphazard manner which took no account of the tastes of prisoners.[38]

The warden of Moosomin Jail, reporting to the 1946 Penal Commission, did not know why prisoners were denied newspapers. "He [the Warden] supposed that at one time it was thought they [newspapers] might be used as means of communications." Thus, though the reasoning behind this practice had been lost the practice still continued unquestioned. This was a common phenomenon of the correctional system. The 1946 Commission concluded that not giving the prisoners newspapers seemed "a practice belonging to a time when it was considered necessary to punish men by depriving them of every creature comfort and of anything they might like, whether it was good for them or bad."[39]

Some jail administrators were not enthusiastic about providing the prisoners with any type of education. In 1934, the Deputy Minister of Public Works, in reply to an inquiry as to whether prisoners should be allowed to take correspondence courses, agreed that perhaps school books could be carried in the jail library but "the supplying of a general correspondence course would result in considerable confusion as the Jail Regulations set out the privileges prisoners are to receive." A former correctional officer at Prince Albert Jail recalled that pens and pencils were not allowed in the cells because they might be used as weapons.[40] Security was an important consideration when making everyday decisions.

Although prisoners did have some privileges during this period, retribution and deterrence through punishment were considered all-important. One reflection of this was the restricting of items which were considered to be luxuries. Prisoners were not to be coddled. For example, on the subject of supplying prisoners with tobacco the Deputy Minister of Public Works stated in 1931: "this has never been done in this province as it has always been felt that the object in sending prisoners to jail was to restrict or punish them to some extent for the crime committed." Not until 1933 were rations of tobacco issued, and prisoners given milk in their coffee on Sunday mornings, and they were allowed brown sugar rather than molasses on their porridge.[41]

The denial of luxuries to prisoners became a consideration in almost every matter. For example, in 1914 a letter from the Acting Deputy Minister of Public Works when describing cell furniture for Moosomin Jail stated: "Do you think it would be more comfortable and just as cheap to use kitchen chairs for this purpose than stools without backs? Perhaps it is not in order to cater to the comfort of prisoners in a jail but I think some consideration might be given in this case."[42] This suggests that such everyday decisions were made with this punitive philosophy in mind.

Another example of the denying of luxuries to prisoners was in the purchasing of matresses for the Battleford Jail for Women. The Matron, Miss E. McIntosh, wrote to the Deputy Minister of Public Works asking whether they could buy matresses with detachable covers that could be washed. She claimed that hay and straw were becoming very expensive and it would be easier to maintain and clean matresses with detachable covers.[43] It is interesting that the comfort of the prisoners was not a consideration.

In the 1930s, women in the Battleford Jail were made to launder and reuse sanitary napkins. In 1936, the Matron, Miss E. McIntosh, wrote to Mr. J.M. Smith, the Deputy Minister of Public Works, asking whether they could discontinue the practice of washing these napkins and using them repeatedly, and, instead, make their own. She indicated that if the women made the sanitary napkins they would be relatively inexpensive and it would eliminate the danger of transmitting venereal disease which existed when the napkins were washed and reused by different women.[44] The making of disposable sanitary napkins became part of the women's work in the jail in 1936.

Jail Labour

Labour was part of everyday life for the prisoners; hard labour was often specified by the court as part of the sentence. In 1915 the rules regarding the hours and types of labour for prisoners were established. The 1943 Rules and Regulations specified that not more than ten and not less than seven hours of labour were required of prisoners. The type of work was set out as "ordinary farm labour, breaking stones, cutting wood, digging drains and sewers, repairing and keeping public highways, cultivating and improving public grounds, or any other work approved by the Warden and the Minister." It was also stated that if no labour was available for prisoners sentenced to hard labour, they should be marched and drilled and perform exercises approved by the warden. It was a violation of jail Rules and Regulations for a prisoner to refuse to work.[45]

Prisoners sentenced to hard labour were to clean all portions of the jail except the individual cells, and perform such labour as was determined by the warden or matron. However, the Rules and Regulations specified that "prisoners awaiting trial, witnesses for the crown, prisoners committed on civil process, prisoners not sentenced to hard labour, shall have the option of employment, but shall keep their cells clean and in order." For prisoners sentenced to hard labour, labour was compulsory unless the health of the prisoner did not permit it. In 1915 and 1921 the Rules and Regulations indicated that "prisoners not sentenced to hard labour shall not have to perform hard labour but must keep their cells clean and in order and shall be invited to work." However, according to a former staff member, sentenced prisoners were never given the option of not working. Prisoners on remand did not have to work. There was no difference in the work performed by prisoners sentenced to hard labour and other prisoners, according to this informant. Therefore, the sentence of hard labour appears to have been meaningless.

Some prisoners viewed labour as a privilege and not a punishment because it allowed them some activity. The alternative was to sit idly in their cells.[46] However, labour was sometimes used as punishment. For example, the 1946 Penal Commission found inmates at one institution scrubbing laundry with a brush on a table. The Commission viewed this as an archaic method of doing laundry, which could be seen only as punishment. This practice was used to break the spirit of the men.[47]

In 1926 the Deputy Minister of Public Works wrote to Mr. F. Kennedy, the warden of Regina Jail, asking him to get a supply of stones ready so that the prisoners would be able to break stones over the winter. He stated that the stones could be used on the roads adjacent to the jail, and pointed out that breaking stones for use in road building was a practice at the Battleford Hospital for the Insane. The main reason he wanted to introduce stone breaking at the jail was that the prisoners, particularly the vagrants, would have something to do over the winter. He also felt that this type of work might have some deterrent effect. He stated, "I think if we had a stone pile available it would serve to keep quite a number of these vags away from jail."[48]

The jail farms required quite a number of able-bodied prisoners. The jail farms were meant to be labour intensive; that is, few labour-saving machines were used. One prisoner describes his labour at the Moosomin Jail farm below. The amount of labour he was expected to do sounds excessive but perhaps this was not a typical case.

> During my stay at the farm I was subjected to many degradations; and it seemed that however hard one work it was impossible to satisfy Mr. Lynch [Jail Farmer] at any time, for instance I was in charge of the feeding and cleaning out of 200 pigs; I would start after breakfast to carry the feed and water to the animals and often when I was in the middle of this I would be called away by Mr. Lynch and given another job to do and when this was done and I had returned to the work at the pig pens I would be confronted by Mr. Lynch and asked Why I had not got

> my work done and then he would tell me that 'It seemed as if any one from Regina Jail had to be broken in his spirit by being sent to the Black Hole and that is what would happen to you if the work was not done better', this was not said once but repeatedly. I know for a fact that one man was put in the black hole for 48 hours because he hit a stone when he was plowing and fell off his plow.
>
> . . . I am of the opinion that a more damaging statement could be obtained from other prisoners at the Jail, unless the fear of further bad treatment would make them withhold what they know.[49]

The above statement indicates the power which the jail staff had over the prisoners and also suggests that labour may have been used as punishment in some cases.

Prisoners were involved in some of the construction of jail buildings. For example, prisoners built a large extension on the Prince Albert Jail in 1906. The warden recognized the economic value of prison labour when he said that "considerable saving has been effected by doing the work by prison labour instead of by outside contract. . . ."

Other examples of jail labour are illustrated in the 1934 Annual Report from the warden of Regina Jail.

> During the past winter season, the portion of Number One Highway between the jail and the city was kept open by shovelling and erecting snowfences alongside. Some four hundred loads of manure were hauled on to the land, thirty-five cars of coal were hauled from the Canadian Pacific Railway Siding, also some sixty yards of gravel from the pit at Pilot Butte for use in cement work, and on the roads around the jail.
>
> As there was considerable rock on hand, none was purchased this season. This was broken up smaller than usual, making it available for road and cement work.

Women prisoners were involved in such labour as gardening; general maintenance of the jail, i.e. scrubbing floors; sewing and mending. In fact, it is indicated in a 1914 memo that the female prisoners at Prince Albert were making the majority of prison clothes.[50]

Prisoner Disturbances

Evidence of prisoner disturbances began appearing in the Public Works Program and Policy files in the 1930s. One common occurrence during these disturbances was that the prisoners would break up their cupboards, stools and sometimes windows and electric lights, although the more peaceful sit-down strikes and refusals to work also occurred. The warden of the Prince Albert Jail described the type of offender involved in these disturbances: "As usual all the culprits were old offenders, most of them having been in various jails and penitentiaries many times."[51]

Some of the On-to-Ottawa trekkers, like members of other dissident groups imprisoned at this time, were ringleaders in jail disturbances. Some, it is noted, were eventually transferred to the Mental Hospital in North Battleford, possibly as a method of control. On this same note, a Saskatoon lawyer, when stating the grievances of an ex-prisoner from Prince Albert Jail who had come to him, indicated that the ex-prisoner "gave me the impression that quite a number of men became mentally ill while still in the jail so that they had to go to Battleford to the hospital for the mentally incompetent."[52] It should be noted that 10 prisoners out of 780 admissions to the Prince Albert men's jail in 1939-40 were transferred to the mental hospital in North Battleford.[53] The numbers transferred from Regina Jail to the mental hospital is indicated in Table 3.

Some of the common grievances of prisoners which led to disturbances were related to food, medical services, and baths. Punishments were meted out for involvement in disturbances. For example, thirteen men involved in a disturbance in Prince Albert Jail in 1937, in which they broke up their cell furniture, received varied sentences from three days bread and water and ten days loss of remission to three day dark cell and loss of remission.[54] These punishments were outlined in the Rules and Regulations previously discussed.

On occasion prisoners involved in disturbances were given punishments not covered by the jail Rules and Regulations. For example, some of them claimed to have been physically assaulted by guards. In an affidavit, an ex-prisoner of Regina Jail, described what occurred after a strike:

> On January 1, 1938, a strike occurred in the said jail when eighteen of the prisoners broke up the toilets, wash bowls and benches in their cells in the cell blocks, after which the prisoners were assaulted by the guards of the jail who proceeded to kick them and give them a general going over, shackling each one of them to bars for a period of twelve hours.[55]

The punitive approach towards handling prisoners, and the omnipotent power of the jail administration is evident. Prisoners were not expected to voice complaints about jail standards and if they did so they could be given punishments beyond those set out in the Rules and Regulations.

It is interesting to note that the Rules and Regulations were amended in 1943 so that "a violent prisoner may be restrained by handcuffing him to his cell, or by placing him in a straight-jacket."[56] Prior to this time there was no official provision for this type of control.

After one of these disturbances in the late 1930s, the Deputy Minister of Public Works advised the deputy warden of Prince Albert Jail that:

> We would suggest that you deal very promptly with these troublemakers, who seem to lose sight of the fact that they are serving

Church Service at Regina Jail, 1936.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

> time in the jail as a punishment and that it is not a place where they can receive every consideration that they would receive at large. In the meantime you better keep the ringleaders under lock and key.[57]

The above statement indicates that complaints by prisoners about jail conditions were not well received by the administration.

Religious Services

Religious services were conducted by the Salvation Army and various other denominations. At least some of the providers of religious services were interested in more than just saving souls. Three ministers who had been performing services at the Battleford Jail for Women in 1933 wrote to the Minister of Public Works protesting that their honorarium for Sunday Services had been cut in half. They argued that "a real service is being rendered to prisoners and one which is appreciated if the prisoner's word can be accepted." They went on to say that the jail took care of the physically sick by summoning a doctor. "We as ministers of the Gospel are ready to co-operate with you on behalf of those who have morally and spiritually transgressed and may be seeking to know the way of repentance and righteousness." They claimed to be providing a professional service to the prisoners.[58]

In 1946 ministers were paid $7.00 per service at Regina and $2.50 per service at Prince Albert and Moosomin. The 1946 Commission found that ministers made no effort to contact or counsel the inmates, except at Regina where an officer of the Salvation Army visited the cell block during the week. The Archambault Commission believed that religious services provided by the chaplains were, in general, unsatisfactory. They felt that the chaplains performed their work with indifference and with as little inconvenience to themselves as possible. A Regina minister inquired as to what the 1946 Saskatchewan Penal Commission had learnt of religious services. When told that the commissioners were not too happy with the chaplain service, the minister answered that they (the jails) did not pay enough for services.[59]

Food

In 1939 Mr. P.A. Forsyth, warden of Prince Albert Jail, hotly contested the claim of a prominent Saskatoon lawyer that the meals were anything but nourishing, clean, wholesome, and balanced. Writing to the Deputy Minister of Public Works, Forsyth explained that he personally inspected the food by periodically sampling the meals. To prove his point he reported on the most recent week:

Sunday, noon..........	a large bowl of barley vegetable soup, hot biscuits, and syrup made from brown sugar.

Monday, evening	potatoes, turnips, beefsteak and onions, brown gravy.
Wednesday, noon	8 oz. perfectly cooked potatoes, 1½ oz. cottage cheese, half pound of a combination of 3 parts meat to one part macaroni smothered with heavy gravy.[60]

Warden Forsyth's own description does not improve the mental picture one gets of these meals. Perhaps, as is alleged in the lawyer's complaint, the inmates did dispose of a good many meals through the sewer in the jail cells, where all inmates ate their meals.

In the departmental records from 1905 to 1946 (and during the 1946 Penal Commission hearings) prisoners' complaints about meals were frequently noted. Few would argue that residential, institutional meals can ever meet the standard of the family kitchen. In the jails the staff, supported by the senior departmental officers, were confident that the meals were good. Most officers believed the meals to be better than those the inmates normally had or deserved. No doubt, for some inmates, the meals were good, regular and filling.

There were, by regulation, two menus: an intramural diet and an extramural diet. Intramural diet was provided for those awaiting trial (remands) or for those under sentence who were not employed at hard labour. The extramural diet was prepared for those prisoners sentenced to hard labour or for those ('trusties') who worked on the farm. These diets were clearly spelt out in the Rules and Regulations in the following manner:

Intra-Mural	
Breakfast	1 pint of porridge sweetened with brown sugar or molasses, 1 pint of coffee sweetened with brown sugar or molasses, bread.
Dinner	4 oz. of cooked meat, 1 lb. potatoes, ½ lb. other vegetables, 1 pint tea, bread. Soup with meat may be substituted for cooked meat on Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. Fish may be substituted for meat when considered available.
Supper	1 pint of porridge sweetened with brown sugar or molasses, 1 pint of tea, bread. Rice may be substituted for porridge on Sunday.
Extra-Mural	
Breakfast	1 pint of porridge sweetened with brown sugar or molasses, 1 pint of coffee sweetened with brown sugar or molasses, bread.

Dinner	4 oz. of cooked meat, 1 lb. potatoes, ½ lb. other vegetables, 1 pint of tea, bread. Soup with meat may be substituted for cooked meat on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday. Fish may be substituted for meat when considered advisable.
Supper	4 oz. of cooked meat, 1 lb. potatoes, ½ lb. other vegetables, 1 pint of tea, bread. Fish may be substituted for meat when considered advisable.
Sunday Supper	1 pint of porridge, sweetened with brown sugar or molasses, 1 pint of tea, bread. Rice may be substituted for porridge.[61]

One news reporter, upon touring the Regina Jail in 1928, wrote "Sunday's meals consisted of a dish of soup, made from meat and vegetables and which would be a credit to any first class hotel . . . ." The same reporter described the procedure which led up to this fine meal:

> "Clang!" Along the corridor the warning is given that dinner is ready. At the same time a lever is pulled and some twenty doors are automatically opened and an equal number of men silently pass through the corridor, down an iron grating stairway to line up silently in readiness to receive their midday ration . . . . At a given signal the men march past the first opening in the barrier and receive their bread and then to the second opening where their soup and coffee allowance is given them and silently they return to their cell, and once again the iron barred doors are automatically closed, "Clang!" again the bell sounds and a fresh batch of prisoners take their place to receive their midday portion of food and to silently march back to their cells.[62]

The prisoners at that time would not have entirely agreed with the news reporter who said the meals were good. In fact, one of the grievances of the prisoners which led to a major disturbance in 1936 in Regina and 1937 in Prince Albert concerned what food was served and how. Also, in 1937 an ex-prisoner told the RCMP that prisoners of the Prince Albert Jail were going to cause a disturbance unless an investigation into the food situation took place. The ex-prisoner alleged that guards were taking home food from the jail, and as a consequence prisoners were receiving skimpy meals. A similar allegation surfaced before a 1930 Royal Commission of Saskatchewan judges who were investigating alleged graft and corruption at Regina Jail. A sworn statement by an ex-prisoner to this Commission claimed that "Warden Hayes and Head Keeper Sampson took the best cuts of meat, which were brought for the prisoners and altogether, stole about 30% of the meat intended for the jail."[63]

The 1946 Penal Commission found the diets of the prisoners nutritionally inadequate. They found that food was foremost in the minds of prisoners who complained about preparation and serving methods and of the monotonous, restricted diets. The Commission wondered why eggs, liver, fowl, and pork were not often served. These foods were produced primarily for resale. No one seemed to know exactly why these foods were not part of the inmates' diet, and the Commission concluded "that no one in the whole administration set-up of the institutions had ever given thought to the need and rights of imprisoned individuals to a nutritionally adequate and satisfying diet." The Commission discovered restriction to bread and water was still being used as a form of punishment, and called it "a relic of the unenlightened penology of bygone times." They also learnt of food which was served cold to the inmates and of enamel dinnerware which chipped easily, the chips falling into the inmates' food.[64]

Medical Services

In the spring of 1921, Regina's Jail surgeon Dr. Rothwell corresponded with the then Minister of Public Works concerning the nature and duties of a surgeon. Conscientious as well as persevering, Dr. Rothwell impressed the Minister with the surgeon's special responsibility for medical certificates, particularly for paroles granted for health reasons. Dr. Rothwell attended to the mental health of prisoners and was called upon to carry out examinations of those remanded for psychiatric observation. With respect to this task, Dr. Rothwell explained to the Minister:

> The mental condition of the inmates at times becomes important and it has happened men were sent to jail not for being insane but to see if they were insane or not . . . . I find I have to look into and report on many cases for judges, magistrates and the Department of the Attorney General. This is done as part of my duties and it has only been in the last five years (since 1916) this has been asked from me and that was, I believe, because I paid special attention to that work.[65]

In addition to his other duties, the surgeon had to attend to sick guards and perform medical examinations on staff and on job applicants. Dr. Rothwell, through his letter, hoped to prove that the $130.00 per month fee for his services did not adequately compensate for the loss to his private practice. There is no indication or record that the Hon. A.P. McNab, Minister of Public Works, agreed to an increase in Dr. Rothwell's stipend.

In 1929 the Social Service Council of Canada distributed a questionnaire to the Canadian penal institutions inquiring about the standards of these institutions. The wardens of the Saskatchewan jails replied that medical services were adequate. Every inmate entering a jail received a physical and mental examination. Further, any prisoner not feeling well could see the jail surgeon. However, prisoners did not always get prompt medical attention. In 1933 a woman died after having a miscarriage in the Battleford Jail. A doctor attended but he left her in her cell to continue the miscarriage. The doctor was not called back to see her, although she complained of severe headaches for five days before her death. The doctor did make one routine visit to the jail during the five days and was not asked to see this patient again. Matron, Miss C.C. Faichney, did not summon the doctor for her but gave her aspirins. The coroner wrote of the matron's conduct: "This , in my opinion, is reprehensibly cruel." The coroner added that he had been credibly informed that the matron threatened prisoners testifying at the Coroner's inquest by saying that if they said more than they had to, their parole would be taken away.[66] Though three employees of the Battleford Jail were charged with misconduct in this matter, the Matron retained her position until her retirement two years later. This is a reflection of the low value placed on a prisoner's life and also reflects the power of the jail authorities.

Medical attention, like meals, played an important part in the daily life of a prisoner. The departmental records show that medical complaints were second only to concerns about food. Although the Public Works Department felt it provided a reasonably good service, outside medical practitioners occasionally thought otherwise. Dr. Arthur Rose at the General Hospital in Hafford, Saskatchewan wrote to the Deputy Minister of Public Works in 1931 concerning an ex-prisoner who had come to him as a patient. In the letter, Dr. Rose described the man's condition on admission to the hospital the day after his discharge from the Prince Albert Jail:

> I was called upon to treat this man on the day following his discharge from the institution, and the facts are borne out by numerous citizens of this town and the entire staff of this hospital, that when the man was admitted for hospital care the abscesses on his neck were discharging freely over his shirt, and the pus had run down beneath his ragged garments in an altogether filthy manner. The abscess on the finger . . . was a large carbuncle giving rise to a very marked swelling on the index and middle finger, and a gross inflammatory condition of the back of the hand and wrist. Dr. King's [jail surgeon] statement that the man received a secondary infection of the finger after release, due to the fact that he was very filthy in his habits, can scarcely be in keeping with the facts, since it was less than twenty-four hours from the time of his discharge till he was admitted to the above hospital for treatment. A secondary infection during that time would scarcely be possible. I wish further to state that the statement that the man had no scabies while an inmate of the Provincial Jail could not in any way be in keeping with the facts. The man was absolutely covered with itch from head to foot when admitted for care twenty-four hours after his discharge . . . . In view of these facts, we feel justified in restating our previous

> contention that the discharge from a Provincial institution in such a condition, is little less than an imposition upon the community to which he returns and a sad reflection upon the institution from which he has come.[67]

However, one should keep in mind that people outside of the jail, particularly during the 1930s did not always have access to medical services and may not even have received as much medical attention as prisoners inside the jail. For example, one Saskatchewan farmer in the 1930s said, "I have 8 children ranging from 4½ to 14½ yrs. yet all we have had in the house for over a week has been dry bread and black tea . . . the whole family has some kind of rash and running sores & I cannot take them to a Dr. as I have not the price to pay the Dr. or to buy the things he would order."[68]

Before 1946 there existed a high incidence of venereal disease in the jails. For a time, the practice was to separate those inmates suffering from venereal disease from the others, assigning them their own washing facilities and dishes; a Wasserman test was performed. However, the Warden at Prince Albert Jail reported in 1930 that such separation was difficult because admissions were high and the jail crowded. In Dr. Rothwell's letter to the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. A.P. McNab, he stated that "from March to the end of December, 1920, some five hundred and sixty-one specimens of blood were secured from inmates for the Wasserman test and one hundred and ninety-six intravenous treatments of neosalvarsan to those found suffering from syphilis, were given."[69] The 1946 Penal Commission considered the medical services for prisoners inadequate. At that time, medical services were provided on a part-time basis by physicians who would visit the jails once or twice weekly or more often if summoned. The Commission found that the medical examination of new inmates consisted only of a test for venereal disease. The penicillin shots for venereal disease were usually administered by the guards. Moreover, dental services normally amounted only to tooth extractions by the jail surgeon.[70]

During inmate disturbances in this period, the poor quality of medical services was a common source of complaint. In a 1927 disturbance the prisoners complained that the doctor came to work drunk, that the only treatment he prescribed for any ailment was black draught and salts, that he would not believe prisoners, and that he questioned them as to why they had not sought medical attention on the outside. One of the observations made by the Archambault Commission was that physicians who have been employed in prisons too long developed a skeptical attitude towards prisoners and came to view the majority of them as malingerers.[71]

Evidence of the number of suicides first appeared in the 1930s. Also, a number of deaths due to natural causes occurred throughout this period. Table 3 indicates the actual numbers of death and suicides during the 1930s.

Jail Staff

The personnel in the jails were quite often chosen for their experience in the armed forces or in police work. While the jails were not exclusively staffed by former military officers, the Boer War and two World Wars did provide a manpower pool after each demobilization.

Though it can be said that military training was one criterion for hiring, several other factors could operate in an applicant's favour. The importance of the farm operations, as evidenced in the Public Works Annual Report, made it imperative that experienced farm instructors worked the jail lands. One employee at the Prince Albert Jail made the transition from swine herder to warden.

It has been alleged that the swine herder's appointment was in part one of political patronage by the party then in power. In spite of the watchdog Civil Service Commission, wardens and others were chosen according to their political affiliation. Subtle, and not so subtle, political considerations affected the operation of the institutions. The

REGINA
1936
Saskatchewan
PROVINCIAL JAIL STAFF

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Officers at Regina Jail, 1936.

internal departmental memoranda during the pre-World War II period indicate a significantly close relationship between the Minister of the day and senior as well as junior jail officials. For example, the Deputy Minister of Public Works told his Minister in November 1915: "I am advised that last year Dr. Rothwell, your jail physician, made arrangements with Mulligan for livery hire [to the jail] at a flat rate of $20.00. This year I am told he is using MacMillan's livery. These people are against us. Mulligan as you can imagine is sore."

It might be suspected that these strong party supporters were given other rewards in addition to their jobs. For example, Prince Albert's Warden in 1929 wrote to the then Minister requesting a much needed house for his family and he signed off with "trusting you will give this your kind consideration and thanking you for past favors."[72] Whether political patronage appointments led to any form of corruption is questionable. Certainly the CCF government promised to do away with political patronage appointments in the Civil Service when they came to power in 1944. However, a bank teller affiliated with the party was appointed warden of Prince Albert Jail shortly after the CCF formed a government.[73]

As with the large number of rules governing prisoners' behaviour, there were also rigid rules governing staff conduct. Duties of staff were minutely prescribed in the Rules and Regulations. Regardless of how they were appointed, all staff were expected to carry out their responsibilities in an exemplary manner. Much was demanded of the senior custodians, the deputy warden, chief keeper, farm inspector, and matron. The job titles changed in 1921 and the term "turnkeys" (which had been brought to Canada from England in the mid-nineteenth century) was dropped. Over the years the titles varied slightly though the duties remained the same.

Record keeping was possibly the most time-consuming aspect for jail officials. By 1943, the deputy warden kept no less than 12 separate log books covering most aspects of the jail operation: record book; journal; jail register; stock book; punishment book; prisoner's effects book; labour book; order book; visitor's book; transfer book; good conduct register; and extra-mural book.[74]

Jail staff broke the Rules and Regulation of the jail with regularity. Drunkenness was a problem among staff as was trafficking in contraband and various forms of theft. In 1924 a letter from the Deputy Minister of Public Works to the warden of Regina Jail revealed that the deputy warden and farm instructor had been charged with some offences against the Rules and Regulations. The deputy warden had been cleared but the farm instructor had been found guilty of a breach of sections 9 and 13 of the Rules and Regulations. These rules required that the jail officers were not to come to the jail under the influence of liquor, have undue relations with prisoners, give to or receive from prisoners any contraband articles, or have familiarity with prisoners. Although the farm instructor had been found guilty of breaking these rules, no disciplinary action was taken against him. The deputy warden pointed out in this same letter:

> Rumours are continually reaching the Department of things that are being done by guards which are not in accordance with the Rules and Regulations, and although we are not in a position to prove some of these allegations we know them to be true. For instance, just the other day a man whose son is in the Jail was phoned by one of the guards asking him for money to purchase tobacco for his son; letters and information are being carried from and to the jail by some of the guards also. We know this to be a fact and it will only be a short time until someone is going to get into trouble on this score.[75]

Drunkenness among jail staff was always a problem. The guards escorting prisoners to courts in various places were frequently intoxicated. On one occasion in 1926 Deputy Warden Simpson of Prince Albert Jail became so drunk while escorting two prisoners to court in Saskatoon that he was unable to attend to his duties. For this action Simpson was suspended from work with no pay for two weeks and was reduced to ordinary guard and ordered not to leave the jail farm.[76]

Supplying prisoners with contraband was also a problem. The punishment for this type of offence was usually a one-week or two-week suspension from duty with no pay. For example, one guard at Regina Jail in 1938 was found guilty of bringing tobacco to a prisoner and received a one-week suspension from duty with no pay.[77]

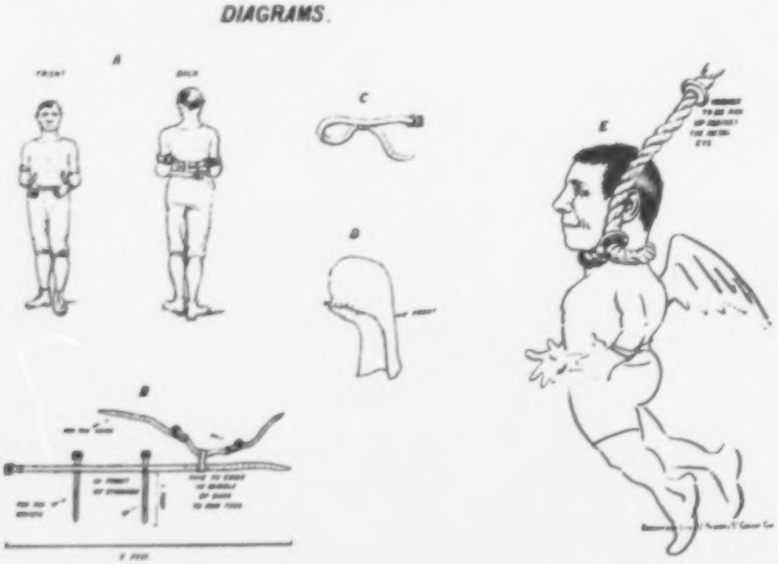
Salaries were not high in the jail service. In 1920 at Prince Albert Jail the warden received approximately $2000 per year. Guard salary ranged from $1116 - $1320 per year. Temporary staff received $960 per year. Interestingly, the matron of Prince Albert Women's Jail received only $792 per year.[78]

Social distance between jail staff and inmates was not only desirable but was expected and prescribed. The 1943 Rules and Regulations state that "no officer or guard shall become familiar with any prisoner, or permit any familiarity to be used toward him by a prisoner . . . ." Also the Rules and Regulations state that "officers and guards are forbidden, when off duty, to knowingly fraternize with discharged prisoners." Another rule which tended to prevent social contact was that prisoners "must preserve silence except when spoken to by an officer."[79] This formal prescription of social distance was not always followed by the jail staff. For example, there is evidence to suggest that some of the staff did supply contraband to prisoners.

Capital and Corporal Punishment

A sentence of death meant that the provincial jail carried out the execution within its walls. The death sentence had been carried out under the territorial government on a handful of prisoners, a number of whom were tried as a result of the Riel Rebellion. Over the years particular procedures were developed to help dispatch a convicted murderer. Britain's Colonial Secretary provided the basic do's and don'ts which were the accepted guidelines governing the use of the gallows. To be hanged by the neck until dead was often easier said than done. Therefore the Colonial Secretary in 1880, Lord Kimberlay, had detailed instructions written down outlining the procedures to be followed.

The official lithographed illustration, circulated in 1880 and kept on file in the provincial Attorney General's Department, vividly pictured the required restraining straps, blindfold, and the proper rope. The covering letter outlined certain essential procedures to ensure success. The rope must be strong and tested with weights. By testing the rope, the letter said, one not only prevents "the possibility of those shocking accidents which sometimes occur at executions, but to take from the rope any kink or elasticity which it would have when new." It was felt that death by hanging ought to result from dislocation of the neck or from nervous shock.



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Execution Procedures Illustrated in Lord Kimberley's Circular.

For the executioner, the instructions to be followed when the prisoner reached the gallows were crystal-clear:

1. Place the convict exactly under the part of the beam to which the rope is attached.
2. Strap the convict's legs tightly.
3. Put on the white linen cap (blindfold).
4. Put on the rope round the neck quite tight, the knot or metal eye being just in front of the angle of the jaw bone on the left side so as to run up the left ear when the man falls and receives the jerk.
5. Go quickly to the lever and let down the trap door . . . . The Convict should hang one hour, and before he is taken down the surgeon should, as a matter of form, satisfy himself that the man is dead.[80]

A news article which described capital punishment in territorial days revealed that it was the practice to bury the prisoner within the walls of the prison except when the body was claimed by someone outside for burial elsewhere. If he was buried within the jail, his name would be inscribed on the prison walls. According to the article there had been three executions at the territorial jail. A black flag was flown on the occasion of a hanging "to announce to the world the expiation of the crime."[81]

Executions had taken place in early morning. In 1942 an Order in Council by the Governor General of Canada changed this practice so that executions would take place as soon after midnight as possible. This Order stated that executions should preclude public view as much as possible.[82] This change was perhaps an attempt to humanize capital punishment. It may have been an indication that there was some public response against capital punishment. Evidence suggests that capital punishment was not accepted as a method of dealing with murderers, by all segments of Saskatchewan society. Mr. Christian Smith claimed to have successfully solicited signatures to petitions for clemency in some cases where capital punishment was ordered in the 1930s and 1940s. In the mid-1930s an inmate who killed a prison guard at Moosomin Jail was reprieved. A news article stated that a petition signed by about twenty organizations in Saskatchewan with about 5000 signatures had been sent to Ottawa asking clemency for the boy.[83] One wonders if this type of response would be forthcoming today.

Unlike the general inmate population, those under sentence of death were constantly watched. Guards were assigned to keep an eye on the condemned person at all times. Visitors were first screened by the Sheriff's office. The death cell, where the prisoner waited the outcome of appeals to the Governor-General-in-Council, was larger than the ordinary jail cell. A small number of prisoners under sentence of death were reprieved to serve a life sentence in the penitentiary, but many were not reprieved. After the execution the family was given the prisoner's personal belongings which rarely amounted to more than his clothes.[84] Executions, like lashings, placed the jailor in the position of carrying out specialized punishments. These tasks were never welcomed by the staff.

Corporal punishment, ordered by the courts for some offences under the Criminal Code, was administered in the jails during this period. Whipping as punishment was set out under the supervision of a medical officer; there was no whipping of females. The 1915 Rules and Regulations stated that the jail surgeon must examine the condition of a prisoner and be present while corporal punishment was inflicted.[85]

Crime and Criminals

Tables 4 and 5 illustrate some of the more common crimes charged against male and female prisoners from 1915-1945. These common crimes account for a large portion of the admissions to the jails, although there were a large number of crime categories. For example, as early as 1915-16 there were forty-five different crimes among the admissions to Regina Jail alone. By 1920-21 the number of offences on admission was in excess of sixty at the Regina Jail.[86]

Like all official statistics, those in these tables should be interpreted with caution. It would appear that the statistics refer to the sentenced prisoners only. The Annual Reports during this period indicate that the number of crimes charged is generally much greater than the number of admissions. This is because one person may have been charged with more than one offence or with more than one count of a certain offence.[87] Thus, if one man were charged with two counts of theft and one count of vagrancy, he would generate three entries. Uncertainty exists as to the exact methods used to compile crime statistics and also whether the methods used were uniform at different jails and at different times during the period.

Caution should be used in attempting to draw conclusions regarding behaviour trends from these crime statistics. Crime statistics may be a reflection of the laws, law enforcement, priorities of justice administrations and political parties, the manner in which statistics were compiled and so on. These data might best be viewed as a reflection of official action by the criminal justice system. What is defined as crime reflects social circumstances and these circumstances change from place to place and from time to time.[88]

As evident in Table 4 the provincial jails held men whose crimes, most often, were vagrancy, theft, and liquor-related offences. Breach of the Railways Act was also fairly common. Women were, on the whole, imprisoned for the same offences as men except that in their case, sexual offences replaced breach of the Railways Act as the fourth commonest category.

TABLE 4

COMMON CRIMES CHARGED AGAINST MALE PRISONERS
1915-1946

Offence	1915-16		1920-21		1925-26		1930-31		1935-36		1940-41		1945-46	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Liquor Related* Offences	116	12.9	116	13.5	270	12.4	370	11.1	252	9.7	331	13.1	240	15.3
Vagrancy	201	22.3	86	10.0	557	25.5	840	25.3	509	19.5	598	23.7	158	10.1
Theft**	213	23.7	285	33.1	423	19.4	680	20.4	621	23.8	479	19.0	370	23.5
Breach of Railways Act	8	.9	9	1.0	181	8.3	155	4.7	250	9.6	67	2.7	24	1.5
Total	538	59.8	496	57.6	1,431	65.6	2,045	61.5	1,632	62.6	1,475	58.5	792	50.4
Total Crimes Charged	900		862		2,186		3,326		2,607		2,523		1,572	

*Liquor Related Offences include: selling liquor, keeping liquor for sale, unlawfully possessing liquor, unlawfully consuming liquor, unlawfully supplying to Indians, unlawfully selling liquor, breach of the Temperance Act, drunk, drunk and incapable, driving auto while intoxicated, breach of liquor act.

**Theft includes: burglary, robbery with violence, theft, break, enter and theft, horse stealing, robbery, stealing cattle, stealing wheat, theft with violence, robbery while armed, highway robbery, theft of automobile.

Source: *Annual Reports*, Public Works, 1915-1946.

TABLE 5

COMMON CRIMES CHARGED AGAINST FEMALE PRISONERS
1915-1946

Offence	1915-15		1920-21		1925-26		1930-31		1935-36		1940-41		1945-46	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Liquor Related Offences*	8	16.0	2	3.8	30	24.0	15	19.5	4	4.8	29	22.3	14	12.1
Vagrancy	—	—	10	18.9	29	23.2	26	33.8	17	20.2	8	6.2	17	14.7
Theft**	4	8.0	2	3.8	14	11.2	7	9.1	6	7.1	11	8.5	14	12.1
Sexual Offences***	26	52.0	13	24.5	4	3.2	15	19.5	4	4.8	—	—	1	.9
Total	38	76.0	27	51.0	77	61.6	63	81.9	31	36.9	48	37.0	46	39.8
Total Crimes Charged	50		53		125		77		84		130		116	

*Same definition as Table No. 4.

**Same definition as Table No. 4.

***Sexual Offences include: keeping bawdy house, frequenting bawdy house, prostitution, being inmates of bawdy house.

Source: *Annual Reports*, Public Works, 1915-1946.

As early as 1913 the Deputy Attorney General chose to comment on the large number of prisoners in the jails. He felt that the high rate of unemployment and the rapid increase in the population of the province were probably the two most important factors contributing to the rising jail populations.[89]

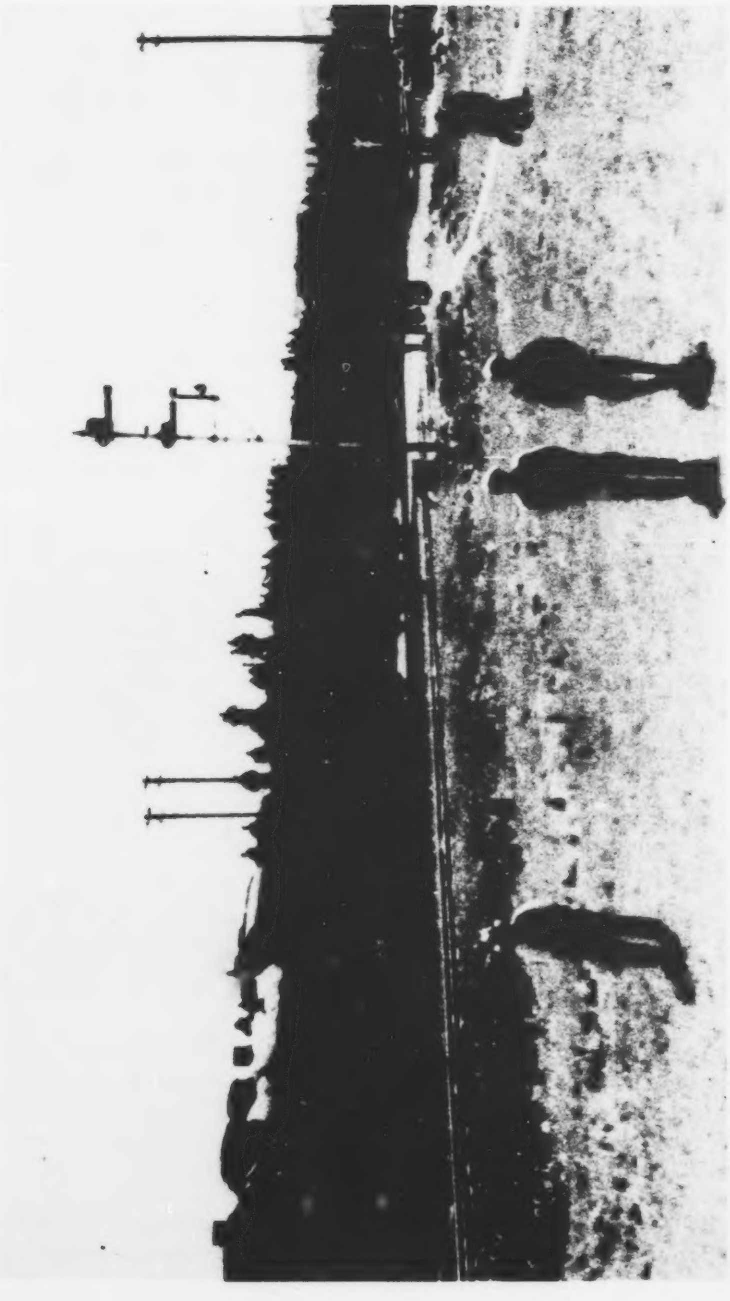
Vagrancy was one of the more common offences. The Vagrancy Law led to a revolving door syndrome for a lot of prisoners. After a disturbance at Regina Jail in 1936, a concerned clergyman intervened on behalf of the prisoners involved and stated to the Minister of Public Works: "One young fellow presented his case in fine language and vivid style. He was arrested in July for riding a freight train. Sentenced to 6 months imprisonment for vagrancy. He would be discharged in mid-winter in his summer clothing with one dollar in his pocket, and he asked how he could avoid being picked up within 24 hours and re-sentenced."[90]

The futility of such Acts as the Vagrancy and Railways Acts is vividly described in a memo from the Deputy Minister of Public Works to the Minister of Public Works in 1933:

> I wish to draw your attention to the fact that under the Railways Act hundreds of prisoners are being committed to our Jails particularly in Regina and Moosomin. These men are picked up mostly at Swift Current, Moose Jaw and Broadview and sent to jail in bunches — sometimes as many as 12 to 20 at a time. They are committed for a week or ten days and the Government has to bear the cost of transportation to the different jails.
>
> These men were little use for work purposes as they are not long enough in custody, besides we have to go to a great deal of trouble in having them admitted, bathed and clothed and when they are set at liberty again in some cases are given a ticket to where they are picked up and in all cases are given a discharge allowance of $1.00 each in cash. We understand that between 400 and 500 prisoners have been admitted to our Jails under this Act this year.
>
> We understand that none of the other Western provinces is doing such an extensive business in convicting persons under this Act. In fact, I know that transients are continually riding the cars throughout British Columbia. If the Royal Mounted Police could cut down on doing so much of this kind of work a considerable saving could be effected.[91]

The extent of vagrancy reflects the social and economic conditions of the times. Imprisonment was seen as one solution to this problem. Mr. Christian Smith, crime reporter for the Saskatoon *Star Phoenix,* recalls magistrates saying to individuals accused of vagrancy: "Well, we can't allow you to starve or freeze to death, so we'll have to send you to jail."[92]

The extensive sentencing of vagrants and freight car riders during this period did raise some problems. According to the response to a



Box Car Riders in the 1930s.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Social Service Council of Canada questionnaire of 1929, no clothing was issued to prisoners leaving the jails. They were issued only with travel fare to the place at which they had been sentenced. The Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council wrote to the Premier of the province in 1935 expressing concern and urging that some action be taken to make sure that men released from prison were adequately clad for the weather. The warden of Prince Albert Jail was not favourably disposed to this suggestion and said:

> Were there new clothes provided out of Government funds, it would not be long before all inmates would avail themselves of the opportunity of securing a complete outfit, and I question very much if it would help matters, as this class may be tempted to do with clothing as they do with the railway tickets, that is, sell them for whatever money they can get, regardless of value.[93]

At various times during this period the provincial jails were used to incarcerate dissident groups of a religious nature (Jehovah's Witnesses), of an ethnic-religious nature (Doukhobors), of a political nature (Communists), and of a political-economic nature (On-to-Ottawa Trekkers).

Jehovah's Witnesses were members of a religious sect founded in the late nineteenth century in the United States. Part of their belief system entailed refusal to salute the flag, vote, perform military service, or otherwise signify allegiance to the government.[94] The Government of Canada declared the Jehovah's Witnesses sect illegal in 1940 because it was felt that their refusal to perform military service would undermine the responsibility of other Canadian citizens.[95]

The Jehovah's Witnesses continued to practice their beliefs and to meet, proselytize, print and distribute literature. For this they experienced legal repression.[96] Mr. Christian Smith recalled that during the early 1940s: "In Germany Jehovah's Witnesses were sent to death camps. In Canada they were jailed." He remembered that a Jehovah's Witness at St. Walburg was jailed because he would not let his two daughters salute the flag in compulsory school patriotic exercises. For this he was sent to jail. This observer also recalled that homes were raided and people thought to be involved with the Jehovah's Witness sect were followed and often harassed by police.[97] It was not until 1943 that the sect was deleted from the Defence of Canada Regulations subversive list.[98]

Another dissident group, the Doukhobors, was a Russian ethnic group. They came to Canada in the late nineteenth century because they were being persecuted in Russia for their religious beliefs and life style. They refused to eat meat, refused military service, and would not register for homesteads. Many of the Doukhobors had settled in Saskatchewan where in 1907 they were evicted from 250,000 acres of choice farmland because they refused to register their homesteads.

During the next five years many of them settled in British Columbia.[99]

It is difficult to ascertain the number of Doukhobors who were sent to jail. However, the Annual Reports in the early 1900s often refer to the problems the jails had with these prisoners. For example, in 1907 the jail surgeon of Regina Jail reported that they had considerable trouble with sixteen Doukhobor prisoners in that jail. He indicated that they refused to eat anything but apples and peanuts. He said that they had to be force-fed through a stomach tube. One of these Doukhobors died of starvation before the force-feeding was begun.[100]

The Communist party was declared an unlawful association in Canada from 1931-1936 and from 1940-1943.[101] Mr. Francis Jabeau who was a member of the Communist party in Saskatchewan during that time indicated that the party was established in the early 1930s in Saskatchewan and had a membership of between 300-500. Their primary aim was to organize the unorganized; their main target groups were the workers and the farmers. In 1933 Mr. Jabeau was arrested and sent to jail for eleven months for being a member of the Communist party. He claims that there were frequent arrests of Communist party members who generally received sentences of fifteen months in jail. In addition, party members were kept under surveillance. They were followed by police, and raids were made on homes and meetings.[102] An example of surveillance of members of this group is illustrated by a 1937 letter (marked 'secret') from the Commanding Officer of "F" Division of the RCMP to the Deputy Minister of Public Works. The Commanding Officer says of a Communist party member who is being sent to Regina Jail: "This man is the president of the Single Workers' Union, a Communist controlled organization, which represents the transient unemployed, and I would respectfully suggest that he be kept under close, though unostentatious, observation while he is serving his sentence."[103]

The Communists were blamed for the On-to-Ottawa Trek, a protest movement of young unemployed men who had been in the relief camps. However, some people claim that the Communists were blamed for anything that the establishment did not like.[104] On their way to Ottawa in July of 1935, the Trekkers were involved in the Regina Riot. When it was over a Regina City policeman lay dead, many marchers were injured, $25,000 worth of property damage was incurred and the Trekkers were branded as criminals. One hundred and eighteen persons were arrested, of whom, thirty-two went to trial.[105]

The arrest of the Trekkers was held to be responsible for some problems in the Regina Jail. In 1936 the warden complained that "ever since the admission of the On-to-Ottawa trekkers to this institution in July, 1935, there has been an undercurrent of opposition to discipline, fostered by these prisoners in the gaol."[106]

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Regina Riot, 1935.

The provincial jails also held individuals who had mental and/or emotional problems. If a Justice of the Peace found someone to be insane and dangerous to be at large, even though these individuals had committed no offence, he could commit him to the nearest jail to await the order of the Attorney General for removal to an asylum or until discharged by law.[107] There were always a number of individuals committed for insanity. For example, in 1916-17 the provincial jails held forty-two insane persons.[108] In 1922 the law changed and it was specified that persons believed to be insane and dangerous to be at large and who had committed no offence, could no longer be committed to a jail, prison or reformatory.[109]

Attempted suicide was an offence during this period and held a sentence of two years imprisonment.[110] (It was not until 1954 that attempted suicide was reduced to a summary conviction, and not until 1972 was the offence of attempted suicide finally eliminated from the Criminal Code.)

It is interesting to note that, compared with people of other racial backgrounds, a relatively small number of Indians and Metis people were incarcerated between 1915 and 1946. Tables 6 and 7 give the number of Indian and half-breed (term used in Annual Reports) males and females incarcerated in a select number of years when these statistics were given.

Tables 6 and 7 illustrate the number of Indian and half-breed admissions to the jails was relatively low in most years when compared with total admissions.

The percentage of female admissions of native ancestry was higher than the percentage of male admissions of native ancestry. Also, in most years, the number of half-breeds was higher than the number of Indians admitted to the jails.

When the racial composition of male admissions to the jail is compared with the racial composition of the general population over the age of 16 years, it becomes apparent that the proportion of Indian

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF INDIAN & HALF-BREED MALE ADMISSIONS TO THE JAILS
1920-43

	1920-21		1925-26		1930-31		1934-35		1942-43	
Racial Group	No.	%*	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indians	20	2.3	70	3.9	42	1.3	46	2.3	57	6.0
Half-breeds	29	3.4	33	1.8	76	2.4	50	2.5	81	8.5
Total	49	5.7	103	5.7	118	3.7	96	4.8	138	14.5
Total Admissions	862		1,809		3,196		1,999		957	

*Percentages given show percentage of total admissions.

Source: *Annual Reports*, Public Works, 1920-1946.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF INDIAN AND HALF-BREED FEMALE ADMISSIONS TO THE JAILS
1920-46

Racial Group	1920-21		1925-26		1930-31		1934-35		1945-46	
	No.	%*	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indians	1	1.9	15	15.3	1	1.4	2	2.5	21	23.3
Half-breeds	10	18.9	10	10.2	10	13.5	7	8.6	24	26.7
Total	11	20.8	25	25.5	11	14.9	9	11.1	45	50.0
Total Admissions	53		98		74		81		90	

*Percentages given show percentage of total admissions.

Source: *Annual Reports*, Public Works, 1920-1946.

and half-breed admissions is much higher than for other racial categories. The ratios are given in Table 8.

TABLE 8

RATIO OF MALES SENTENCED TO JAIL, TO MALES (16 YEARS AND OVER) IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

Racial Group	**1920-21**	**1925-26**	**1930-31**	**1934-35**	**1942-43**
Indian Males	1:180	1:52	1:105	1:82	1:69
Half-Breed Males				1:52	1:34
Other Males	1:3,344	1:161	1:107	1:179	1:409

Sources: *Census of Saskatchewan*, 1926; *Census of Canada*, 1931;
Census of Saskatchewan, 1936; *Census of Canada*, 1941.

Table 9 illustrates the number of female Indian and half-breed admissions to the jails compared with the racial composition of the population. It indicates that the proportion of Indian and half-breed female admissions to the jails is much higher than for other racial categories.

Comparison of Tables 8 and 9 reveals that the incidence of male admissions is much higher than that of female admissions in this ethnic group. Also, where the data are available, it appears that both female and male half-breeds have a higher rate of admission than Indians.

TABLE 9

RATIO OF FEMALES SENTENCED TO JAIL, TO FEMALES (16 YEARS AND OVER) IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

Racial Group	1920-21	1925-26	1930-31	1934-35	1945-46
Indian Females	1:3,574	1:238	1:4,257	1:1,841	1:179
Half-Breed Females				1:332	1:101
Other Females	1:5,028	1:2,545	1:4,071	1:3,862	1:6,231

Sources: See Table 8.

Prison Reform and the Private Sector

Reform movements like that of the Social Gospel put pressure on governments to aid the plight of the underprivileged. The Social Gospel movement, beginning in the late nineteenth century, encouraged social concepts of man and the social dimensions of the gospel and it viewed the solutions to problems as having a social character.[111] It is difficult to assess the impact of the Social Gospel, but its proponents became involved in a multitude of social programmes and in winning legislation to aid the underprivileged.[112]

In the very year that the new Regina Jail opened, the Social Service Council of Canada sponsored its March 1914 Congress. Among topics such as, "The Canadian Indian," "The Labour Problem," "Immigration," and "Temperance," was to be found "Prison Reform." It is interesting that prison reform did not find its way onto the short list of items discussed at a post-Congress meeting with the Federal Cabinet. Omission of this topic can be explained in terms of the long list of resolutions which ranged over such disparate issues as the prohibition of the manufacture of cigarettes, an old age pension system, the right of women to vote, and pensions for needy mothers.[113] But it is possible that the explanation for omission of this topic goes deeper than an inability to compete with the other demands for reform.

While prison reform surfaced as an issue amongst many other matters, it did not gain — nor has it ever gained — the unqualified support of the population at large. A dilemma, and a severe one at that, made certain prison reforms difficult to achieve. The dilemma is as apparent today as it was in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century.

A provincial jail sentence implied both punishment and the possible reformation of the offender. There is evidence to support the view that the origins of the dilemma (punishment versus treatment) are to be found in the nineteenth century in such movements as the reform of prisons through humanization; the emergence of an organized social conscience; and, lastly, the changes in values and in the social order which accompanied technological change, scientific discovery, Darwinism, and the populating of the new frontiers.[114]

Even before the turn of the century the coming together of these developments or movements to form the ideas which provided the long term goals of prisons can be actually seen at work in the federal regime in the North West Territories. In his 1897 Annual Report to Parliament, Canada's Inspector of Penitentiaries indicated that supplying discharged prisoners with clothing and paying their expenses to the place at which they received their sentence was not a good practice. He felt that the assistance was not enough for the ex-prisoner who wanted to go straight, and was too much for the ex-prisoner who would use it to continue his life in crime. The Inspector felt that the police should be involved in preventing the misuse of funds supplied to discharged prisoners. He also thought that the establishment of after-care agencies such as the Prisoners' Aid Associations would afford "the safest and most efficient medium through which Government aid could be given."[115]

The prisoner's welfare, both within the institution and after discharge, depended on the activity of the type of associations mentioned in the Annual Report. In this report the Inspector describes not only a future role for the private sector in the criminal justice system but also outlines the future responsibility of the central government. In 1897, this was a very optimistic picture to say the least. Furthermore, the potential role of the police in after-care is most interesting, if somewhat unrealistic.

Even earlier, at the National Prison Congress of 1887 in Toronto, the Honourable S.H. Blake, Q.C. recognized the dilemma in which those working in the field of corrections continued to struggle:

> It is all very well to talk about reforming the prisoner. My friends, we have to commence away back of reforming the prisoner; we have to reform public opinion on this question. (Applause) There is where we have to begin. Next, we have to reform our sheriffs, to reform our jailors, and to reform our jails; and then we shall have a better hope of reforming the prisoners.
>
> I say then, that we want to have public opinion educated to a true sense of the position of the prisoner. Instead of having any old political hack . . . put into the office of jailor or sheriff, we want our prison officers to pass an examination; we want to know that they know how to deal with that class of prisoners: and we want to substitute that grand word 'reformation' in place of punishment.' Public Opinion needs a good deal of education.[116]

During the years following the granting of provincial status to Saskatchewan the general public were preoccupied with the task of consolidating the fragile economy of Saskatchewan. Prison reform was, therefore, not a priority matter. Through its Bureau of Child Protection, the province granted a Mother's Allowance to the wife of an offender during his period of incarceration. Travel fare for offenders to the place where they were sentenced came from the public purse. Few citizens of Saskatchewan have ever (before, during, or after the Great Depression) seen the need to do more than this.

The task of prison reform was left to church groups, volunteer caring societies, and the fledgling prisoner welfare groups, (like Saskatoon's John Howard Society) which might intervene on the prisoner's behalf with the public as well as with government.

In 1911 several prominent Regina citizens set up a Prisoners' Aid Organization. This was indeed a progressive-minded group. The objectives of the organization were: to set up a home for discharged prisoners where they could stay until their friends could help them or a job could be found for them; to establish night schools and Sunday schools; and to help the family of a breadwinner who was serving a sentence in jail. It was further suggested that certain offenders should not be sent to jail, but that a home of some kind should be established to which they could be sent. The members of this organization were drawn mainly from the police force, the Salvation Army, and the churches.[117]

Mr. Christian Smith claims to have founded the Saskatchewan branch of the John Howard Society in 1940. This was the first John Howard Society in the province. At that time an organized effort was needed to help men released from prison. A Prisoners' Welfare Society existed in Regina but it cared for women prisoners only. Miss Ursula Henry, who was a school teacher, became secretary and the Reverend Archibald Ward acted as president of this organization.

The first Board of the John Howard Society in Saskatoon drew membership from nine different religious denominations. The objectives of the John Howard Society were broader than those of the Salvation Army, another organization which was interested in the welfare of prisoners and ex-prisoners. The Salvation Army would give a man a bed for the night and a meal, but the John Howard Society would try to help him re-establish himself, would buy him winter clothes, help him find a job, and try to assist him in dealing with financial or personal problems. Persons who received assistance from Saskatoon's John Howard Society were expected to make repayment when they could.

The John Howard Society operated on a voluntary basis and obtained money from such organizations as the Community Chest, Kinsmen Club, and IODE (Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire) in order to carry out its work. Most of the ex-prisoners given help were from the Penitentiary rather than from the provincial jails.

The Society felt that these men had a more difficult time readjusting to society than did prisoners from the provincial jails.[118]

The objectives of the John Howard Society were:

1. To assist in the rehabilitation of discharged prisoners.
2. To protect, counsel and otherwise assist the families of persons who are serving terms of imprisonment.
3. To work for improvements in Canada's judicial and penal system.[119]

The Society's constitution required a board of nine persons: three members chosen for three years, three for two years and three for one year. The first officers selected by the Saskatoon Board were Rev. D.J. Mulcahey, a Roman Catholic priest, as president, and Dr. D.M. Baltzan as vice-president.[120]

Dr. D.M. Baltzan described the persons who began the John Howard Society during the 1940s as a very concerned group of citizens who felt pity for the persons who came to seek help from the Society. Dr. Baltzan stated that the work was "a difficult thing, a pitiful thing and not always a successful thing." The Society operated with few resources and little expert knowledge; however, much good work was done by the Society. For both potential offenders and ex-offenders there was, according to Dr. Baltzan, "concern, activity, some success and many disappointments." Although there are more services available today to deal with the type of problems the Society dealt with in 1940, in Dr. Baltzan's view there is no more humanity at work in the community than there was in the early years of the Saskatoon John Howard Society.[121]

Generally speaking, some interest in social reform, including prison reform, was expressed by various volunteer groups and organizations. Some of the interested, caring organizations prior to 1946 were the women's groups associated with church organizations, the IODE, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Homemakers' Clubs, Home and School Associations, University Faculty wives, and the Saskatoon Community Council. Also, individual members of the clergy, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Kinsmen Club offered some services. These groups submitted briefs to governments and were involved in public education. Also, they provided assistance to ex-prisoners in the form of supervision, clothing, food and monies.[122] It is difficult to describe the role of these organizations in the matter of penal reform but they did have a personal commitment to help the needy, which included the offender.

Within the provincial jail administration, the construction of the two new jails in 1914 and 1921 was a sign of reform of the physical facilities used to house prisoners. However, there is little evidence that the social milieu of the jails changed. In 1928 classification of certain types of prisoners began. Offenders under the age of 21 years serving time for a first conviction were confined at Moosomin Jail. Some jail administrators considered this policy of classification to be quite progressive and reform-minded. For example, the warden at Regina Jail stated that:

> So far as Saskatchewan's advancement along the line of prison reform is concerned, I would point out the new policy adopted by the government in segregating all first offenders convicted under 21 years in the Moosomin Gaol. This move alone has exceeded the dreams of the most ardent reformer, and is to be commended.[123]

The concept of classification was of course not new but it is one of the first signs that one of the perceived functions of the provincial jail was the reformation of the offender.

A movement which was to have an impact on reforming the jails began to receive emphasis during the latter part of this period. This movement held that the scientific treatment of offenders should be a function of the provincial penal system. In 1935, a newspaper article reported that Dr. J.W. MacNeill, Commissioner of Mental Services and Superintendent of Battleford Mental Hospital, urged that prisoners be given psychiatric examinations. The article goes on to state that Dr. MacNeill agreed with the Reverend Clarence Halliday and Doctor S.R. Laycock, an educational psychologist, both of Saskatoon, that rehabilitation should be the chief aim of the penal system.[124] In this article the prisoner is viewed as a person afflicted with an illness for which curative and not punitive measures could be applied. Reverend Halliday and Dr. Laycock were later to become two of the Commissioners on the 1946 Penal Commission which precipitated a new era as the rehabilitative approach slowly began to receive more emphasis than the punitive approach in Saskatchewan's penal system. The humanitarian and scientific treatment of prisoners were the key elements in the rehabilitative approach.

Developments in the jails in the 1940s indicate that some humanitarian steps had been taken prior to the 1946 Commission. For example, educational and recreational programs were being organized in the jails. In 1943 at Moosomin Jail a teacher instructed classes two evenings a week for two and one-half hours. Also, a modest physical fitness program was introduced at Regina Jail in 1945.[125] Once a month, from 1944 to 1948, a film was shown to prisoners at Regina Jail. The films were shown by Mr. Christian Smith, then Director of Health Education for the Province. While health films were shown without cost, full-length feature films were made possible by the generosity of the Regina Kiwanis Club. Mr. Smith arranged with Mr. Frank White, a physical education instructor, to put on physical training classes for several years without payment. The film programs were eventually taken over by the jail administration. Premier T.C Douglas in commenting on a film on cancer which had been shown to the prisoners said, "it marked a more constructive approach to penology and was a logical step in health conservation."[126]

Some questions were being raised regarding the philosophy of punishment which was the central concept of corrections during this period and the concept of reform, treatment, and rehabilitation were beginning to receive more emphasis.

3. TREATMENT: 1946–1966

The post-World War II period in Saskatchewan saw the implementation of many new social welfare oriented programs. Some of the movement to provide better social services to the province could be attributed to the new CCF government elected in 1944. However, the government's basic priorities were economic development and health care.

The post-war period became a dynamic time in the corrections area. Many changes were implemented. The 1946 Penal Commission formally introduced into the Saskatchewan correctional system the philosophy of treatment which was to replace the previously dominant system of punishment. As indicated in the last chapter, some of the federal corrections administrators in the late nineteenth century were talking about reform and treatment, and the Archambault Commission in 1938 had espoused the principles of treatment. However, little activity was evident at the federal level which would indicate that the principles were actually being practised. Saskatchewan may have been the province to pioneer some of the treatment oriented programs in the correctional system.

Treatment during this period was primarily carried out inside the jails. Thus the jails were the most important service provided by adult corrections. Although treatment became the main philosophical thrust during this period, the elements of retribution and deterrence through punishment and of the protection of society by means of incarceration in institutions were still important.

The 1946 Penal Commission

The 1946 Penal Commission was a landmark in the history of adult corrections in Saskatchewan. It was the first major investigation into the operation of Saskatchewan jails. The penal philosophy espoused by the Commissioners was to have a tremendous impact on corrections for more than a decade.

Just what caused the CCF Government to launch an investigation into the penal system is unclear. However, it would appear that a number of factors came into play. The principles of the CCF party supported changes which would humanize the law. In 1933 these principles had been set out in a document most often referred to as the

Regina Manifesto. This document contained specific reference to justice. It stated:

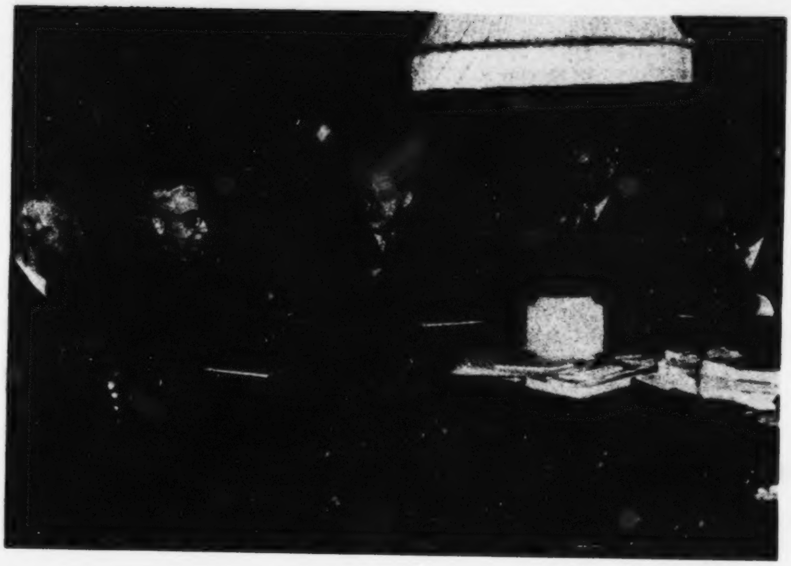
> Social Justice. The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers, to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law, in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.[1]

Perhaps this humanitarian, philosophical stance of the CCF fostered the formation of a penal commission.

Another factor which could have favoured the formation of the Commission was the work of the federal (Archambault) Royal Commission of 1938, which gave Canadians a glimpse of the inner workings of the penitentiary service. Certainly the Archambault Commission raised critical questions about the conditions in the jails. Also the Archambault Commission recommended a major shift from a punitive to a treatment oriented approach to prisoners. Perhaps this prompted some concern about local jail conditions. In fact, evidence exists that at least some citizens and organizations were pressing the CCF government to initiate such an investigation. For example, Mr. Christian Smith (as Director of Public Health Education and member of the John Howard Society) claims to have exerted this type of pressure on Premier Tommy Douglas.[2]

Some additional issues which favoured the formation of the 1946 Penal Commission were addressed by J.T. Douglas (no relation to Premier T.C. Douglas), the Minister of Public Works, in a Budget Debate in March of 1946. He outlined his concerns regarding the large number of escapes (particularly from one of the provincial jails), the high recidivist rate, the rising crime rate in the province, and the tremendous costs in maintaining the criminal justice system. He went on to say in his speech that the punitive penal philosophy of the past may have been a natural reaction of human nature, but it was not good business.[3] He indicated that punishment of the offender did not work to protect society. In fact, it often made the offender more bitter and anti-social than before. Mr. J.T. Douglas outlined the newest approach to penal reform as both hard-headed and humanitarian. "It is out first of all to protect society," he said, "but it knows that the only way to protect society is to genuinely reform the criminal. It will, therefore, judge methods used in penal institutions not by whether the criminal deserves them but by what these methods do to him."[4] Thus, it would appear that both the economic and the social costs of crime were concerns which may have led the CCF government to investigate the penal system.

At the beginning of 1946, the Minister of Public Works sought out persons who might serve on the penal commission. He first called upon Samuel R. Laycock, educational psychologist at the University of



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

1946 Saskatchewan Penal Commission. *Left to right:* W.H. Holman, Dr. S.R. Laycock, Hon. J.T. Douglas, Rev. C. Halliday and C. Smith.

Saskatchewan, to act as chairman. The Reverend Clarence Halliday of the Canadian Prisoner Welfare Society accepted a position as commissioner even though he resided in Ottawa. A third commissioner, Mr. William Holman, was a lawyer from Outlook, Saskatchewan. The Minister of Public Works felt that Mr. Holman would provide a "practical perspective to the Commission."[5] On loan from the Department of Health was the Commission's secretary, Mr. Christian Smith, a journalist by occupation.

The Commission worked within broad terms of reference. These included:

> Provincial jails, reformatories and institutions for juvenile delinquents, and more particularly, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing, the following matters:
>
> 1. The prevention of crime and delinquency having regard to the roles of:
>   (a) homes, schools and community organizations;
>   (b) parent education and child and family welfare organizations;
>   (c) poverty and poor housing;
>   (d) intelligent police protection;
>   (e) juvenile and family courts;
>   (f) child guidance and mental hygiene clinics;
>   (g) detention homes and probation officers;

  - (h) schools for delinquents;
  - (i) post-discharge guidance of offenders;
  - (j) co-operation among schools, police and youth groups;
  - (k) trained personnel.

2. The nature and objects of penology having regard to:
   - (a) the protection of society;
   - (b) the rehabilitation of the individual for his own sake and the sake of society.
3. Pre-trial investigation and parole.
4. The role of a public defender.
5. Standards of jail care in Canada and other countries.
6. The penal system of the Province of Saskatchewan.
7. The examination of provincial penal institutions, having regard to:
   - (a) relationship to the federal penal system;
   - (b) general policy of administration;
   - (c) physical plant and equipment;
   - (d) hospital, medical and dental facilities;
   - (e) employment of offenders;
   - (f) courses of training;
   - (g) appointment and training of staff;
   - (h) general regulations.
8. The examination of the inmates of provincial institutions, having regard to:
   - (a) total population;
   - (b) nature of crimes;
   - (c) age and background;
   - (d) recidivism;
   - (e) classification;
   - (f) segregation;
   - (g) training in institution and vocational guidance;
   - (h) recreational facilities;
   - (i) religious facilities;
   - (j) psychological and psychiatric examination and treatment;
   - (k) discipline;
   - (l) employment.
9. The treatment to be accorded to the different classes of offender, having especial regard to their age, mentality and psychological condition, having regard to:
   - (a) young offenders;
   - (b) mentally defective persons;
   - (c) corporal punishment;
   - (d) the Borstal system.[6]

The final Report, published in the fall of 1946, did not respond in depth to all of the above terms of reference. Clearly, the task was an impossible one.

To carry out its terms of reference the Commission first inspected each of the jails (Prince Albert, Regina, Moosomin) and the Boys' Industrial School. In the jails the commissioners interviewed the senior officials, listened to staff spokesmen and met inmate representatives.

Public hearings were held in the three principal cities to receive the twenty briefs submitted. Visits were made to consult criminal justice officials in B.C., Ontario, and in the United States. Twenty-three American prison facilities in Colorado, Oklahoma, Ohio, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and California were toured. The Commission toured only three out-of-province facilities in Canada — one in Alberta, one in B.C. and one in Ontario.[7] Mr. Smith indicated that this was because they considered most Canadian penal facilities to be even more backward than those in Saskatchewan.

In September 1946 the commissioners wrote the report in a marathon session in Regina's Hotel Saskatchewan. The report, the first of its kind for Saskatchewan, ran to 140 closely typed pages. Christian Smith, the secretary, typed much of the first draft himself. Upon receiving the final Report, the Minister of Public Works shared the document with his Cabinet colleagues, some of whom were not eager to make the Report public.[8] There was a concern that the government would be criticized for the less than acceptable situation in the jails. It was Christian Smith who reminded the Minister of Public Works that the Commission's recommendations and criticism were not a condemnation of the government of the day. Previous administrators, Smith argued, had not chosen to make improvements to the jails.[9] It was evident that little would be gained by not releasing the Commission's findings. The initial reluctance to publish the Report could be understood, for the recommendations supported fundamental changes in penal philosophy.

The 1946 Penal Commission called for a program of crime prevention, full probation service, scientific treatment of offenders in penal institutions which would rehabilitate them, greater use of parole as a stepping stone back to the community, and an adequate system of aftercare to re-establish the prisoner in society. More specifically, the Commission recommended that:

(i) a division of corrections be set up with a trained penologist to head it;
(ii) a classification/reception centre be set up in one of the jails;
(iii) a professional board be set up to advise the Director of Corrections;
(iv) 10 cents a day be paid to prisoners;
(v) short sentences not be given because of the difficulty in treating problems in a short time;
(vi) the segregation of different classes of prisoners be established;
(vii) a full-time social worker be employed in each institution;
(viii) forestry camps be set up for young men needing a minimum of custodial care;
(xi) probation be organized and administered by the Director of

Corrections and that only trained social workers be employed in probation;

(x) a provincial parole board be set up and that the board be made up of a lawyer, sociologist or psychologist and a person from the employment field;

(xi) the government should be prepared to subsidize any private prisoners' welfare organization if one does come into being;

(xii) an advisory committee be set up on the prevention of delinquency, made up of members of major organizations in the province;

(xiii) provisions be made for both public education and in-service training of personnel;

(xiv) provisions be made so that persons can pay their fines in installments;

(xv) the provincial government recommend the criminal code be revised;

(xvi) the salary of magistrates be increased to attract better personnel;

(xvii) the jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace be curtailed since they have no training in law.[10]

These recommendations called for a more systematic and scientific approach to the control and treatment of crime and criminals, and put an emphasis on the rehabilitation of the offender. In order to achieve this the Commission advised the government to hire professional penologists and social workers.

Also suggested in this report was a program of general public education which was to be combined with in-service training of staff. Higher salaries would have to be paid in order to attract better personnel. Greater flexibility in corrections programming was envisioned through the establishment of provincial probation and parole services, the setting up of forestry camps, the classification of offenders, and the extension of time in which to pay fines. The commissioners advocated that a humanitarian approach be taken in handling offenders. They focused some of their attention on improvement of the operating standards in the three jails. Some of these recommendations such as probation, parole and forestry camps point the way to the realization that there are methods of dealing with the offender other than by placing him in an institution. However, the institution and the treatment of the offender within the institution remained the focus of the penal system. In addition, the Commission pressed for the extension of certain privileges such as correspondence, visits and canteen.

Recommendations were made concerning the quality of food, healthy exercise, and sanitary safeguards.[11] The Commission felt strongly that "an inadequate and unsatisfactory diet hinders and delays reform. . . ."[12] To help achieve reform of the prisoners the

Commission suggested that programs of education, vocation, and recreation should be established in the jails. Also, hobbies were to be viewed as "one of the most effective personality-building agencies for any individual. . . ."[13] In fact, nearly all changes recommended by the Commission were rationalized on the basis of their reformative value to the offender.

The Commission actually spoke out for the rights of offenders. For example, the commissioners felt that when someone lost his liberty the jail should provide that person with a nutritionally adequate and satisfying diet.[14] Moreover, the Report urged the payment of prisoners as having psychological value in maintaining the prisoners' self respect.[15]

Reflections of religious beliefs which may have been the legacy of the Social Gospel movement are visible in the rationale of the Penal Commission's conclusions. The commissioners argued that "society's self-interest in the rehabilitation of prisoners' coincides . . . with the Christian principle of the dignity and worth of every human being and the Christian doctrines of love, charity and mercy."[16] Rehabilitation, the Report promised, would also save the taxpayer money, reduce crime and was the only way society could protect itself.[17] To assure success, the Commission advised that a scientific, multi-disciplinary approach to penology be taken by using medicine (including psychiatry), psychology, sociology, political science, and economics. Significantly, the Commission stressed the importance of the prisoner's role in his own rehabilitation: "The old proverb that one can lead a horse to water but cannot make him drink has a special application in the field of penology."[18] The best equipment or programs would yield few results unless the prisoner was concerned about his own rehabilitation. This warning was not heeded until many years after it was given.

The Commission identified the causes of criminal behaviour as being in the economic and social environment and supported a community attack on these causes. Some of the specific causes of criminal behaviour they felt, were poverty; unemployment; inadequate recreational facilities, parents, and schools; a lack of religious training; and the lack of welfare organizations. Penal institutions existed for the treatment of emotionally disturbed and socially maladjusted persons. The jails, therefore, had to do the job of socialization which the parents, school and community had failed to do.[19] Given the meagre resources the Penal Commission expected a lot of the jails.

Aside from being quite a daring document for its day, the Commission's recommendations laid the foundation for Saskatchewan's present correctional system, and it did so by breaking with tradition in at least two ways. First, a series of public hearings was held around the province. Second, the commissioners met with inmates of the jails.

There was phenomenal newspaper coverage of the Commission's work. The leading newspapers across Canada chose to comment at length on Saskatchewan's Penal Commission. For the most part the articles and editorials on the recommendations of the commissioners were complimentary. Chris Smith, the Penal Commission's secretary, was a consummate journalist with a network of colleagues. Conceivably, his determination to see reform led him to ensure that the newspapers picked up the story and a copy of the Report. This extensive newspaper coverage and its very positive nature reflects the fact that society was ready to accept this new approach to dealing with prisoners.

While some people, including certain Cabinet Ministers, did not completely accept the Report, the government did proceed to implement some of the recommendations. A Corrections Branch was set up in 1948 within the Department of Social Welfare, with a trained penologist as the director. It is interesting that the 1946 Commission did not recommend the transfer of the jails to the Department of Social Welfare. It merely stated that a Corrections Division be set up within some existing government department.[20] Some indication of the rationale behind the transfer of the administration of the jails was given by the Minister of Public Works in a 1947 Legislative Debate. He felt that his Department should not be administering the jails. He said:

> It is a mistake that was made by the former administration, and apparently, in this line of work as in other lines of work, they placed property rights before the rights of human individuals. So it was our gaols were placed in a Department whose duty it was to take care of our public buildings. One of the things we will have to do here this winter, I hope, is to transfer these gaols to the Department of Social Welfare, a Department whose staff is better equipped to handle this type of work than is the Department of Public Works.[21]

A classification unit was set up in Regina Jail to assess offenders on an individual basis. Included in this classification unit were a social worker, a psychologist, an education officer, and a part-time psychiatrist. An adult probation service began in 1948 and a program of staff training was begun.[22] Also there was an extension of old programs and the implementation of new ones in vocational training, academic instruction, and recreation in the jails.

Hope for Early Changes

The end of purely punitive and custodial institutions was heralded by the advent of treatment and re-education of offenders. A newspaper article in 1949 states that "custody is not an end in itself, and is recognized as having no magic powers of reformation." Hopes for the reform of prisoners ran high. The same article proclaimed that treatment would create a new order in penology.

> Gone will be the inmate who leaves the repressive discipline of jail, outwardly servile but inwardly seething, unable to adjust himself to society . . . a public burden, in his place will be a man who emerges from the constructive guidance of a correctional institution with a new outlook on life, and the incentive to make good . . . a future responsible citizen, contributing to the welfare of the community rather than menacing it.[23]

The Director of Corrections himself told a friend of the amazing (almost magical), results of a group work project through which older, alcoholic recidivists received a little personal attention. He wrote that they "have rather amazed us by going out and getting jobs, sometimes part-time, sometimes of a permanent nature, and almost working out their own salvation except for a small amount of guidance and encouragement."[24]

A newspaper headline in 1949 held out another hope for the new treatment model: "Crime Rate Shows Marked Drop; Province's Jails Reorganized." The article related how Moosomin Jail had been closed due to a lack of prisoners. In fact it claimed that "the institution of programs stressing an individual treatment approach and the expanding use of probation services by the courts has resulted in a marked decrease in crime in Saskatchewan . . . ."[25] Undoubtedly the introduction of the probation service meant that some first offenders were diverted from the jails.

The high expectations for the treatment model were reflected by the Minister of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation who introduced the Corrections Act to the Provincial Legislature in 1950. He advocated the treatment approach on the basis of progressiveness, and the reduction in cost and crime rate. He said that the approach to penology in Saskatchewan was progressive and he substantiated this by quoting Mr. J. Edmondson, president of the Canadian Penal Association, who said that Saskatchewan was leading the other provinces in penal reform. The Minister also pointed out that, with very little cost, education, trades, probation, and parole had been introduced to the correctional system in Saskatchewan. He also said that due to the declining crime rate Moosomin Jail had been closed. However, the Minister was quick to point out that "our institutions in this province are certainly no summer resorts or recreational clubs." And to further illustrate his point that prisoners were not having an easy time of it he stated that the prisoners were made to work from 5:45 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.[26]

The 1950 Corrections Act entitled "An Act respecting the Corrections and Prevention of Delinquency," formalized certain of the recommendations made by the 1946 Penal Commission. This Act dealt

Moosomin Jail, 1946.

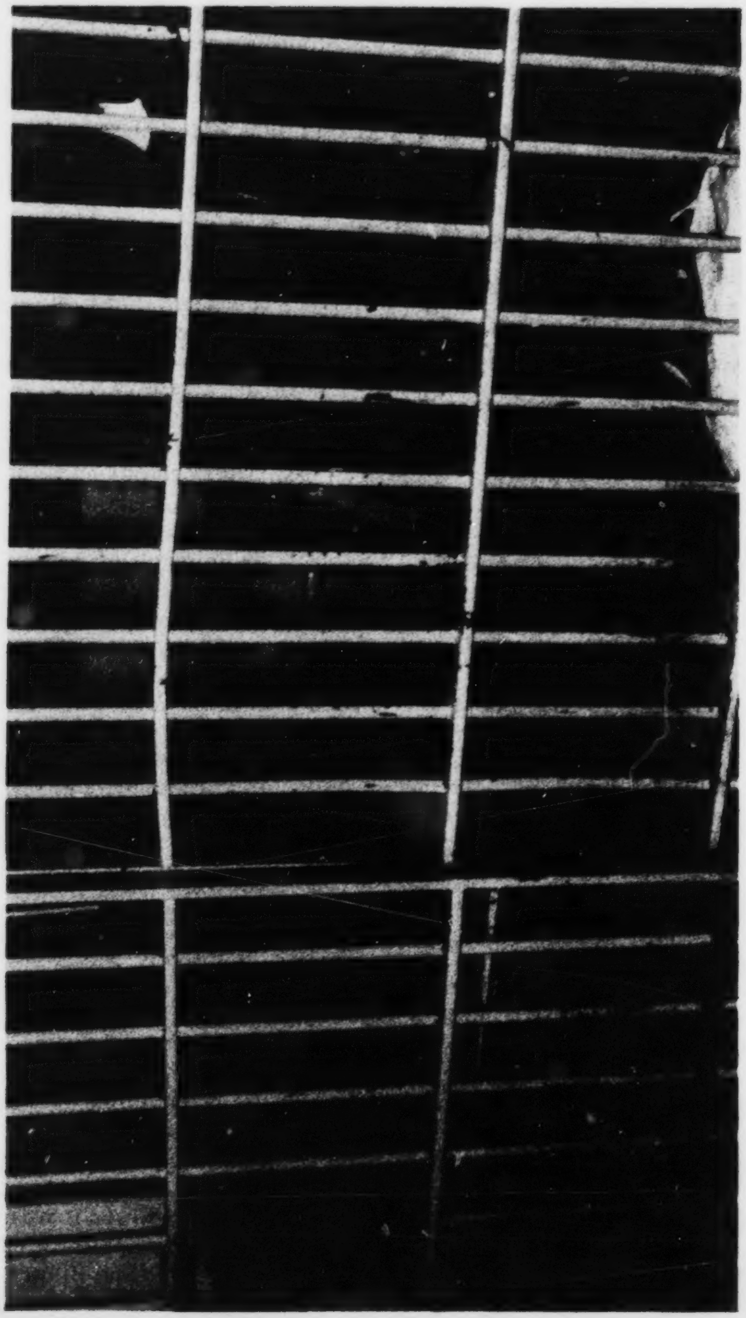
Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

with both juveniles and adults. The preamble of the Act sets out that juveniles who commit a delinquency or adults who commit an offence shall be examined to determine what has caused the delinquency or offence and will "be given such help, guidance, retraining and treatment . . . as would seem to remedy the conditions underlying the delinquency or offence."[27] This preamble remains essentially unchanged to the present day. It was the first major change in corrections legislation since 1906.

The 1950 Corrections Act provided for an Adult Guidance Authority. This was to consist of a psychiatrist, a director of Corrections, the superintendent of an adult correctional institution, and a chief adult probation officer. The Authority was never established. The Act also provided for the development of adult probation and probation staff and stated that provincial parolees were to be supervised by probation staff. It provided for the setting up of a classification centre in which all inmates would be diagnosed before being sent to an institution. However, classification continued to be carried out in each correctional institution. The Act changed the names of the jails to correctional institutions and the title of warden to that of superintendent. It even allowed for voluntary admissions of persons into the correctional institutions if they were approved by the previously mentioned Authority. No voluntary admissions were ever made. The Act also provided for an advisory board to the director of Corrections, though such a board was never established. In addition, the Act called for a crime prevention program to be initiated by the Minister.[28]

The task for the Corrections Branch in the 1950s was to introduce a treatment model into the penal system of Saskatchewan. The introduction of the concept of treatment into the service was by no means smooth or rapid. There were many problems surrounding the introduction of treatment-oriented changes into the system, such as attitudes of the general public and correctional staff, and unrealistic expectations of many people regarding the outcome of treatment. Also, it was difficult to erase the punitive philosophy which had dominated penology for so many years.

Before discussing the changes in Corrections it should be remembered that custody remained an important part of the correctional system of the 1950s. One staff member who began working at Regina Jail in 1954 remembers that it was "strictly lock-up, exercise, work gangs, and the silent system." A correctional officer's job consisted of searching, checking bars, counting inmates, checking inmates in and out to work, and searching cells. In fact, the institutions were so security conscious that inmates were not even allowed to wear watches in case they made use of them in planning an escape.[29] A Cell Block Procedure Manual, prepared in 1956 by the Corrections Branch,



Cell at Prince Albert Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

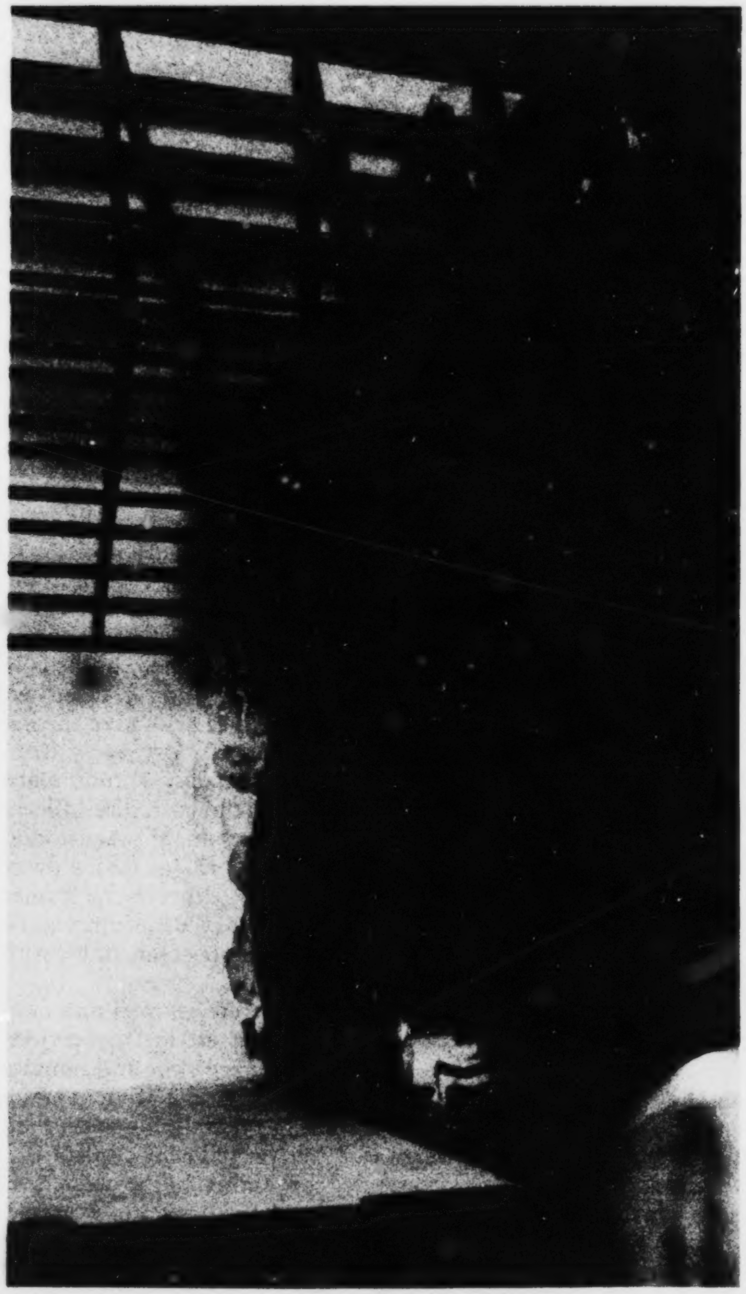
set out such procedures as locking, searching, counting, censoring practices, escape procedures, and key control. These procedures took skill and time, for all inmates had to be searched before they could leave or enter the cell block.[30]

Coincidental with the treatment approach there existed an attitude of strict discipline for prisoners, and the denial of luxuries — an idea central to the philosophy of punishment. The director of Corrections wrote to the superintendent at Prince Albert Jail in 1950 stating that there were rumors of lax conditions at Prince Albert Jail. He advised the superintendent that the men should be adequately fed, clothed and trained but they should be "provided with an absolute minimum of frills and luxuries. . . ."[31] One superintendent at the Prince Albert Jail tried several times to introduce more severe forms of discipline than were permitted. One of these was the use of the paddle. He was denied this request by the director of Corrections who did not feel that this was in keeping with the treatment approach. However, it appears that some severe methods of discipline were applied and not reported to Central Office. In 1952, the director of Corrections wrote to the Deputy Minister concerning a number of incidents when a fire hose had been turned on inmates who were a disciplinary problem.[32] Thus, the punitive philosophy of the past was still very evident in the daily operation of the institutions.

One change in the institutions was the abandoning of uniforms and weapons. The intention was to relax the atmosphere of the jails and make it more conducive to treatment. As previously discussed military uniforms had been worn by the staff, and guns were carried by guards who had to escort inmates. This new move away from uniforms and guns was a difficult transition for staff. It took place gradually beginning with the treatment staff; the custodial officers waited until no untoward consequences resulted. Some of the custodial staff felt that taking away their uniforms and guns was taking away their discipline and control of the prisoners.[33] However, a former director of the branch believes that the removal of the uniforms had a positive effect on inmates and made them feel more comfortable with staff.[34]

In the early 1950s the inmates and staff were allowed and even encouraged to get to know each other in contrast to the previous custom. According to some staff, contact between staff and inmates brought about a change of attitudes in inmates. Some of the inmates viewed this contact negatively, as did some of the staff. Some staff felt that this contact was another sign that they were losing control.[35]

During this period inmates were beginning to be viewed as persons worthy of at least some humane considerations. For example, the inmate was called by his name and not cell number as had been formerly the case.[36] Further, during the 1950s the inmates were allowed to wear their hair slightly longer.[37]



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Solitary Confinement Cell, Regina Jail, 1950s.

Rules and Regulations

The Rules and Regulations of the jail still tended to reflect punishment philosophy more than treatment orientation. Rules and Regulations were drawn up by each Correctional Centre and were not standardized as they had been in the pre-1945 period. They were changed slightly from time to time but remained basically the same throughout the period. The 1965 Institutional Regulations for Regina Centre were discussed under the following headings: Cell Cleanliness, Cell Furniture, Property Allowed in Cell, Mailing Privileges, Visiting Privileges, Rules of Dress, and Services Available to You. The rules were very detailed in nature. Regarding outgoing mail, for example, it stated that "all letters must be written on paper provided by the institution for that purpose. Use only the line side of the page." Another example of how detailed and specific the rules were was the statement that "pens must have blue or black ink." Certain restrictions were placed on what and how much an inmate could have in his cell. For example, an inmate was permitted only one picture puzzle in his cell, no more than ten books, comics or magazines, no more than one full package and one open package of tobacco, no more than two tubes of toothpaste, hair cream, shampoo, or Noxzema. Any number of items over and above the prescribed numbers would be confiscated.

There is some suggestion in the regulations that inmates were predisposed towards lewdness or obscenities. This is similar to the presumptions inherent in the 1915 Jail Regulations previously discussed. For example, inmates were not to draw or sketch obscene pictures, not to use abusive, profane or obscene language in outgoing mail, not allowed to receive mail that had obscene or profane language in it. They were allowed to have snapshots, greeting or post cards providing that they were of normal size and did not offend good taste. Inmates were not allowed to mention names of staff or inmates in their outgoing mail and they were not allowed to criticize institutional discipline or regulations.

Presumably the rationale behind these regulations was security and the smooth running of the institution, and the fact that they minimized the work load of the institutional staff. For example, letters could be written only on Wednesdays and Sundays. This was probably to simplify the collecting and censoring of outgoing mail. Some of the regulations, such as those about ink colour and the number of books in the cell, are difficult to understand in terms of security. The restrictive nature of the rules which governed the conduct of inmates at this time is similar to that embodied in the Rules and Regulations in the 1905-1945 period.

The regulations seem to be geared to young children rather than adults. The practice of calling adult inmates boys and girls, was common in the pre-1945 period and is still utilized by some staff today. Similarly, the regulations seem to place the inmate at the level of a child. For example, one regulation was that "shoe laces must be tied and shirts tucked in when you are outside your cell." Inmate contact with the community was still fairly restricted in terms of visitors and mail. According to the 1965 Regulations the inmates were allowed visits of only two hours per week from their immediate families.[38]

The regimentation of institutional life is evident from the 1967 Information Sheet for Prince Albert Correctional Centre. It was as follows:

Wake up and make beds	6:30 am	
Breakfast	6:40 am	
Lunch	11:30 am	
Supper (weekdays)	5:30 pm	
Supper (weekends & holidays)	5:00 pm	
Work Gangs - out	7:30 am	
- in	11:20 am	
- out	12:10 pm	
- in	3:20 pm	
Counts	7:00 am	
	10:50 am	Stay where you are
	2:50 pm	Weekends
	3:40 pm	Weekends and holidays
Lights out	10:00 pm	Warning bell, quiet
Corridor Freedom	6:00- 9:30 pm	Saturdays
	6:00-10:00 pm	Sundays and holidays[39]

Institutional Treatment

During the 1950s renovations were made to the correctional institutions to accommodate the treatment model. Several vocational shops were built at the institutions. Most of the renovations were made at Regina Jail where offenders between the ages of 16 and 25 were held. The Prince Albert Jail, which received the more seasoned offenders and those 25 years of age and over, lagged many years behind Regina in the area of treatment. There was a limited educational program for a few inmates in Prince Albert Jail with a small number of recreational programs, a library, and religious services. Little was done in the way of treatment at the Prince Albert Jail for Women. The inmates served very short sentences, and aside from institutional maintenance work, women inmates did handicrafts, sewing, and were shown films. On the other hand at Regina Jail group work, educational upgrading, vocational training, and recreational programs, as well as the showing of films, and the conducting of group discussions had begun.[40]

Classroom, Regina Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Library, Prince Albert Women's Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Group work was the core of the treatment approach in Saskatchewan jails during the 1950s. There were a number of group workers. Each worker was in charge of a small group (8-13) of inmates. They would be involved, as a group, in various activities such as recreation, reading, discussions, hobbies, and eating meals.

A correctional officers who worked as a group worker in 1954 described group work activities as the inmates learning to use leisure time in socially acceptable ways. Group work gave inmates something to do rather than leaving them to sit around in their cells. Other objectives of group work included teaching inmates how to make friends, how to resolve conflicts and, as well, it taught them basic life skills such as how to find a job or fill out an income tax form. By creating a less tense atmosphere these group work activities had a beneficial effect on the institution.[41]

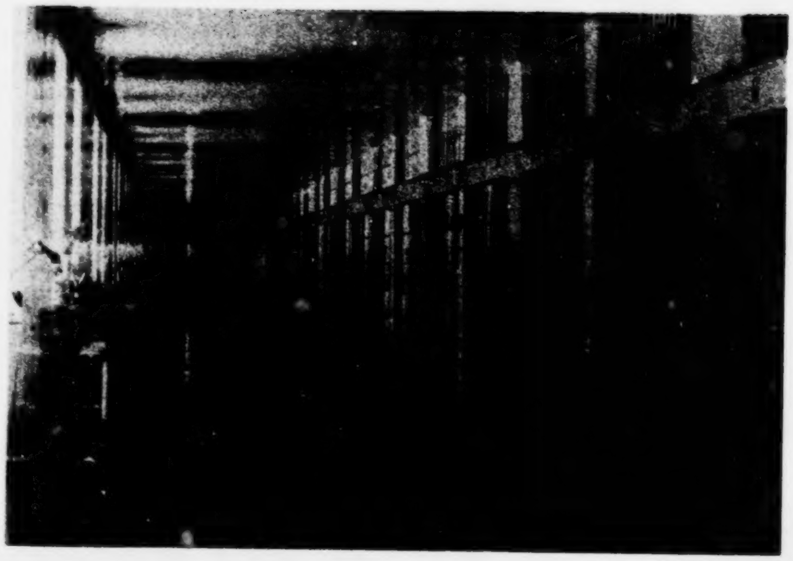
Group work activities took place after the daily work on the farm or elsewhere was completed. A timetable governed the groups. The following is an example of the type of activities in which a group might engage.[42]

GROUP 3

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
3-4 P.M.	Physical Training	Hobbies		Physical Training	Physical Training	Discussion
4-5 P.M.	Library	Hobbies	Duty Group	Project	Reading	Reading
5-6 P.M.	Supper	Supper		Supper	Supper	Supper
6-7 P.M.	Project	Library		Hobbies	Project	Cell C.
7-8 P.M.	Recreation	Recreation	Bath & Change	Hobbies	Recreation	Recreation
8-9 P.M.	Recreation	Project		Films	Reading	Recreation

The group worker tried to have daily contact with his group in order to encourage new interests, new attitudes, better habits, and good sportsmanship. Any abnormality which he observed in the behaviour of the men, he would record.[43] However, inmates were not always comfortable in the group discussion periods but they would discuss controversial subjects, as well as their post-release plans, and occasionally their personal problems.[44]

The treatment program drew on the various resources available in the jails: the farm operation, vocational training, counselling, psychiatric care, and even a controlled experimental program with a mood-altering drug. A treatment plan for each offender sentenced to more than three months grew out of an evaluation of psychological tests, the inmate's social history and a classification conference.



Corridor, Prince Albert Women's Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Mrs. Janet Paley

Planter, Prince Albert Women's Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Miss A. Lacoursiere

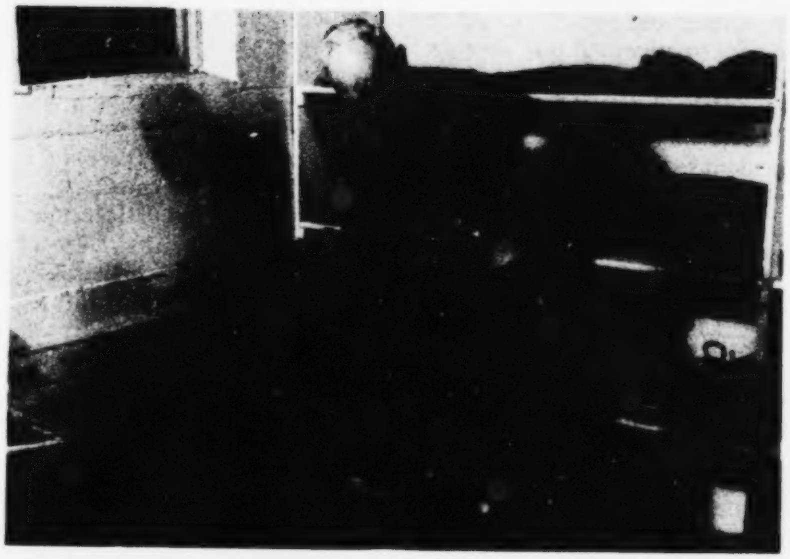
Work on the jail farm was considered as treatment for the prisoners. In 1955 the Prince Albert Jail had a 2000-acre farm to be worked. The farms had herds of dairy cows, swine, and beef cattle but they had little in the way of modern equipment because the operation was labour intensive. It was assumed that work experience on the farm would build self-confidence, self-respect, and provide the prospect of future employment. In addition to the farm operation, vocational training was offered in a number of trades in several shops. A motor vehicle repair shop, a woodwork shop, a radio shop, a tailor shop, a farm mechanics shop, a shoe repair shop, and a building maintenance shop existed in the Regina Jail by 1960. Prince Albert Jail had a building trades shop, a tailor shop, a shoe repair shop, and a building maintenance shop.[45]

Vocational training was viewed as instrumental in the reformation of the offender. During the early 1950s prisoners could get a certificate in motor mechanics from Regina Jail,[46] and intensive instruction in other trades was given to inmates. In addition, there was an educational upgrading program at both jails.

The offender was to be reformed through group work, individual counselling, work, education, and recreation. It was hoped that through these methods he would learn good work habits, acceptable social attitudes, and have some skills to enable him to earn a livelihood in the community.[47] In an effort to give the individual a better understanding of his problems and equip him to control his behaviour, counselling focused on the individual.[48]

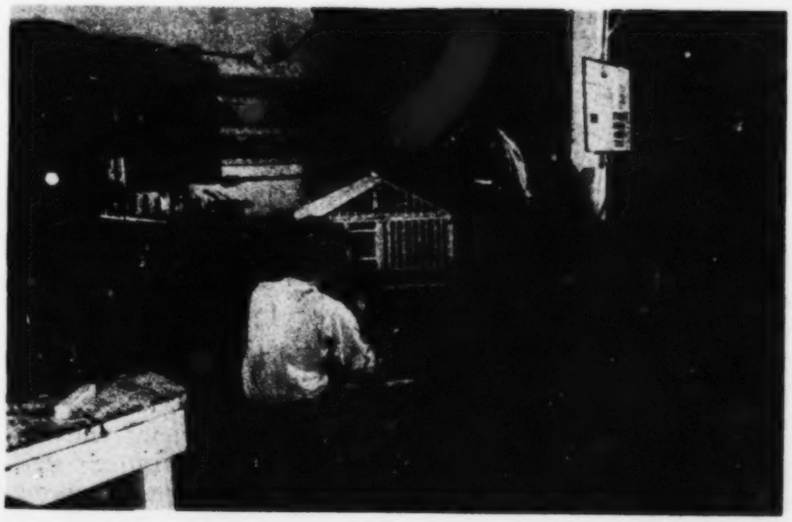
When specialized or psychiatric counselling became necessary, the inmate was referred to the psychiatrist on staff. For twelve years (1954-1966) Dr. Gordon Russon worked as a consultant on program development and counselled some inmates directly. Dr. Russon did most of his work in the Regina Jail. Regina Jail, besides the extensive group work program, placed an emphasis on interviewing inmates. Dr. Russon emphasized that, during the 1950s, the expectations placed on the psychiatrist were very unrealistic. For example, the administration would send him inmates who were discipline problems in the institution, and his job was to straighten them out. The idea that psychiatrists could do something magical and mystical was, and still is, an attitude common in many sectors of society. This idea is unrealistic because people will only be helped if they are open to receiving help.[49]

The controlled use of LSD in 1959 represented a novel but short-lived treatment approach. The experiment was initiated and controlled by members of the Department of Public Health and the treatment team at the Regina Jail. The program was a voluntary one, both for inmates and staff. The director of the Regina Jail soon concluded that this project was time-consuming for staff. He noted that although some inmates had taken it several times he could not see any



Tailor's Shop, Regina Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives



Carpenter's Shop, Regina Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

permanent changes.[50] This statement reflects the prevailing attitude toward treatment at that time — it should work, work quickly, and not demand much time or personal involvement. However, another reason for the discontinuance of the LSD project was the lack of a proper therapeutic setting and the possibility of an untoward incident.[51] It is interesting that not too many years after this experiment persons were serving time for LSD possession or trafficking.

In the early 1960s Corrections experienced a period of doldrums, resting on previous laurels and marking time.[52] The definition of treatment did change a little. During the late 1950s, administrators involved with treatment began to feel that providing a person with academic or vocational skills was not enough. The 1960-61 Departmental Annual Report stated that "the less tangible goals of developing mature social relationship and a well-integrated value system are probably of more importance."[53] During the early 1960s, because of changes in the Department of Labour Regulations, it became more difficult for inmates to be eligible to write the trades certification examinations.[54] The role of the trades instructor in the jails also changed. He was to be considered not only a teacher but a counsellor, for social rehabilitation was considered to be as important as technical training.[55] During the 1960s vocational training within the institutions increased. The jails came to be viewed more as trades training schools for people sentenced by the court.[56]

Treatment continued to be mainly institutionally based in the early to mid-1960s. References to treatment and therapy appeared frequently in the Annual Reports of the 1960s. For example, an Adjustment Wing was set up in the Regina Jail around 1963.[57] This was actually a segregation wing for housing maladjusted offenders who were disruptive to the operation of the institution. This suggests that the rhetoric of treatment (adjustment wing) was used to describe something which actually served a control function (segregation) for the institution.

In 1964 a new classification system based upon maturity was developed. This system owed its development largely to the efforts of Dr. Gordon Russon. The maturity level method was used to determine what type of treatment the person should receive. Mr. Abe Voth, who worked in classification at the Prince Albert Jail in the late 1960s, stated that some of the staff felt that the maturity level classification system was good, but others, particularly custodial staff, resented it. Custodial staff were required to complete assessment forms about inmates. They felt that this assessment was time-consuming, and they did not really understand it. In addition, some of the treatment staff objected to the system because some inmates were written-off as being incapable of improvement.[58]

By 1965-66 the farm program at Prince Albert Jail had been almost abandoned, partly because of the proximity of the city residential areas, but also because of the feeling that it was not of much rehabilitative value.[59]

Problems with the Implementation of Treatment

There were many problems surrounding the introduction of a treatment approach to the correctional system in Saskatchewan following the Penal Commission Report. Not all of these problems arose after 1946. Some of the problems were carried over from the former period, and some remain with us today. The introduction of a treatment model into a correctional system, which before 1946 was punitively oriented, was by no means a smooth or easy transition. The treatment model was not fully accepted by many. It was generally assumed that the purpose of incarceration was punishment, and that offenders should not expect better conditions in the jail than were available outside the jail to law-abiding citizens. The view of the criminal as being essentially bad and deserving of punishment was held by many citizens. In fact, a 1952-53 Corrections Branch Annual Report stated that it is difficult to spend money and effort on people we reject.[60]

Attitudes of citizens were most often evident when ex-inmates sought jobs in the community. Many inmates became frustrated at the efforts of the treatment team in jail. These offenders felt that no matter how hard they tried, when they left the jail, few people would hire them and they would be badgered by the police.[61]

The custodial staff were slow in accepting the treatment approach. Some custodial staff viewed the treatment approach as coddling or pampering inmates and they viewed the treatment staff as do-gooders. At Regina Jail they called the area of the building where the treatment staff had their offices "The Ivory Tower."[62] At Regina Jail "in the earlier years the group workers sat at one end of the table during dinner time and the custodial staff sat at the other end."[63] Aside from disagreement with the treatment philosophy, custodial staff may have felt that they were the long-term employees and that the treatment staff were intruders. Probably the custodial staff were anxious about their role in this new approach because they did not understand the role of the treatment staff. Also, the treatment staff were paid more than custodial staff and had academic qualifications. Possibly the major reason that custodial staff resented treatment people was the increasing importance of the role the treatment staff played in the institution. Major decisions were made by the treatment staff while the custodial staff had little involvement in decision-making. Staff training was designed by the treatment staff, taught and evaluated by them. Compulsory staff training left custodial staff with the impression that the treatment staff expected to enlighten those who knew nothing but had worked in the jails for twenty years! With this perspective it is easy to understand the resentment which custodial staff felt towards the treatment staff. Many of the older staff who were opposed to the treatment approach left the Branch.[64]

It is interesting to note the similarity in the outlook of the older staff and the seasoned inmates concerning the treatment model. Most of the old inmates were content to stay in their cells and serve their time as they had done years before, but the younger inmates were more amenable to taking part in the treatment program.[65]

A very basic concern about treatment was its lack of definition. Dr. Gordon Russon, the psychiatrist, states that "there seems to have been a great lack of any clarity of thinking or unanimity of thinking on what treatment was . . . so that many, many people were involved in many, many efforts without really knowing what they were doing or having a clear idea where they were headed."[66] Everyone had his own ideas about what rehabilitation meant. The Corrections Branch Report (1960) which summarized the 1947-1960 period stated that one of the basic problems with treatment had been the lack of scientific study on the causes of crime, its classification, and treatment techniques.[67] People had many high ideals about the operation of the treatment model in the 1950s. Hopes were raised about the treatment model's potential to reduce crime and to close down the jails. There were a number of theories about the causes and cures of crime, many of them representing gross over-simplifications.

Idealism is evident from the Departmental Annual Reports of the period. Winston Churchill is quoted in the 1953-54 Annual Report as saying: "The mood and temper of the public with regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilization of any country . . . tireless efforts toward the discovery of curative and regenerative processes, unfailing faith that there is treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man."[68]

A naive approach towards treatment was also evident. Some believed that all inmates could be treated by the interview method — a counsellor for every inmate. Others, when it was found that most inmates at Regina Jail had little formal education, thought that the answer was to try to improve their education. Alas, educational upgrading did not provide the solution. Changes in life patterns take place over a long period of time "and not" Dr. Russon observed, "by the exercise of some magic — a few quick words, advice, and this kind of thing."[69]

A further example of this optimistic view of treatment is revealed in a 1955-56 Annual Report. It stated that the recidivist rate was fairly high, around 48%, and therefore "members of the treatment team together with the branch psychiatrist were called upon to provide more intensive therapeutic services."[70] In fact, no one realized the complexity of the task which had been undertaken. However, some knew that it was harder to reconstruct character than to build stone walls and cells.[71] The task of changing human behaviour remains the most perplexing problem in all correctional systems today.

There were a number of problems which were perceived by corrections officials to hinder treatment efforts. One of these problems was the overcrowding of the jails. As a result, a great deal of staff time was devoted to custody and discipline. Overcrowding caused serious problems not only in terms of the allocation of staff time, but also in the handling of inmates. For example, it was sometimes necessary to handcuff an unruly inmate to the bars and gag him so that he would not disrupt the institution. This procedure was not considered to be in keeping with a good treatment program. Budgetary constraints hindered the development of facilities for training and treatment such as a gymnasium, a dining room, classrooms, and rooms for other activities such as group counselling.[72]

A further obstacle to achieving a higher success rate was the large turnover of treatment staff and the lack of qualified staff. One of the effects of the large turnover of treatment staff was that they would introduce new ideas and leave; then someone else would come in and undo these changes but introduce others.[73] At Prince Albert Jail after 1953 the average length of stay of a treatment supervisor was about two years.[74] During one year almost the entire treatment team resigned from Regina Jail. The classification officer, group work supervisor, education officer, and the superintendent resigned. The caseload may have been too large for the small treatment team. During that year, four hundred men passed through classification; that is, their problems were assessed and their treatment needs specified. Fifty-two presentence assessments were referred by the courts. As well, the team was responsible for the entire treatment program. In addition, there were seven escapes and some minor disturbances that year, so the social milieu of the institution appears to have been in a tremendous state of flux.[75] The treatment team was called upon to deal with problems of housing, organization, and maintenance of discipline. They could not, under the circumstances, devote much time to the job for which they were hired.[76]

Short sentences were viewed as a problem in treatment. Large numbers of people were sentenced to less than thirty days, during which time it was impossible to implement a treatment plan. Many of the short-termers had alcohol-related problems, and for these "it [the jail] was just a place really for them to come in, get sobered up, get fed well for a few days, be well looked after physically, then turned back on the street."[77] These offenders with short sentences constituted a large proportion of the jail population. In 1956-57, for example, nearly 55%

of the sentences served at Regina Jail were for less than one month.[78]

Given the authorities' perceptions of the problems hindering treatment, it is easy to understand the organizational attempts to make treatment work in the post-World War II correctional system. Some of the solutions which were suggested to increase the effectiveness of treatment were a larger budget, more and better qualified staff, and improved facilities.

The beneficial effect or the success of the treatment approach is difficult to evaluate. How the success of the various programs can be measured is still a perplexing question today. Prior to 1946 effectiveness of the correctional system, which had been essentially a custodial function, was measured largely by the number of escapes and the number of disturbances in the jails. Until the 1950s the general public did not pay much attention to the jails unless there was an escape. After 1947, when treatment became a function of the correctional system, measures of effectiveness gradually changed. Effectiveness began to be measured by corrections officials in terms of the recidivist rate, and the general public measured effectiveness in terms of the crime rate.

A Departmental Annual Report pointed out that in 1957-58, 1,066 persons were recidivists. Of these, 845 were older offenders who had chronic alcohol problems and came to the institution many times a year for short periods of time.[79] Some persons with alcohol and drug problems came in as many as twenty times each year. Aside from these chronic cases, there was a reasonable degree of treatment success. Many people who did not come back to the institution appeared to be functioning well in their community.[80]

Staff interviews reveal that there was confusion about how success was to be measured. However, a number of the staff felt that to some degree the treatment approach had been successful. It was very difficult to assess the effectiveness of what happened to an individual in the institution, especially when what happened to him on the outside had to also be evaluated. One staff person felt that "in some group work discussions one could feel things happening, but at other times the sessions were flat."[81] One of the difficulties in trying to assess the effectiveness of treatment was that the only inmates whom the staff saw again were those who came back to the institution.[82]

Some of the changes which came about with the introduction of the treatment approach were generally considered as positive. In the 1950s there was a new emphasis on treating the inmate as a human being. A news article in 1957 stated: "Modern correctional work is a forward, humanitarian stride from the days not so far distant when solitary confinement and a diet of bread and water were punishment but by no means improvement."[83] The physical facilities of the jails were improved. The inmate's sense of personal worth began to be emphasized: he was called by name rather than by number; he could talk to the guards and other inmates; he was allowed to grow his hair longer; discipline was more relaxed; he did not have to spend so much time in his cell. Activities such as recreation, vocational training, group work, academic education, and reading were available. Some entertainment, such as films and radio, was provided. These changes made the jails more humane. The humane handling of offenders is one of the least complicated definitions of treatment.

The treatment approach promoted a more relaxed atmosphere in the institutions. Group work acted as a buffer between the inmate group and the old-line custodial people.[84] One of the positive effects of the relaxed atmosphere was that the inmates began to mellow a little. One staff member said that when he began work in 1948 it was nothing to see a cell smashed up every day, but currently this is a rare occurrence. The mellowing effect did not take place immediately. With the relaxing of discipline in the early 1950s came the releasing of hostility by inmates, culminating in a number of disturbances in the institutions.[85]

In the early 1950s, while efforts were made to alter inmate attitudes, vocational training, recreation and education were considered to be more important. Just prior to 1960 there was a change in the attitude of the Departmental officials. From this time the emphasis was on changing the attitudes of the offender rather than on occupational training.[86] The 1959-60 Annual Report stated that in all activities "the main emphasis is to assist in the socialization of the inmates, not in providing them with specific skill or knowledge."[87]

Treatment was viewed as existing within the confines of the system, that is, within the setting of the institution. Thus the philosophy and the practice of corrections were contradictory. The contradiction was that by sending someone to a destructive environment it was hoped to achieve something constructive. The offender was sent to jail for a predetermined period of time, during which, whatever ailment he was supposed to have would be cured, and he would leave as a law-abiding citizen. The time period for such a change to occur (if it ever does) could not be predetermined.[88]

The fact that no follow-up of ex-inmates was attempted in the correctional field at that time indicated that rehabilitation was more of a short-term approach while the offender was in the correctional institution, than a long-term plan to actually effect some change in an individual's behaviour. In contrast to the practice today, correctional programs and services were not evaluated. With no follow-up or objective measurements of success a program was often assessed by its effectiveness in making the institution run more smoothly — in other words, rehabilitation was regarded as a behavior control mechanism. This is evident from the amount of time that treatment personnel spent on problems of discipline and control within the institution. Inmates would frequently be sent to the staff psychiatrist because they were causing trouble in the institution, and he was supposed to correct their behaviour.[89] This seems to have been one of the problems associated with the co-existence of the dual objectives of custody and treatment within the same system.

Another example of this problem was seen in the Alcoholics Anonymous program. It was an important aspect of the treatment program, particularly in Prince Albert Jail. Outside members of Alcoholics Anonymous would come into the jail to hold meetings with the inmates. However, the superintendent of Prince Albert Jail outlined a number of concerns about this program. These included concerns about outside members smuggling contraband and kites for inmates, and communicating dissatisfactions to inmates about the Correctional Institution.[90]

Mr. Larry Heinemann, executive director of the John Howard Society during the 1960s, stated that the individual approach to dealing with social problems, e.g. natives, alcoholics, etc., was predominant in the correctional field at that time. The fallacy of this approach is only now coming to be recognized. By devoting time and energy to help one individual or a number of individuals, one is doing nothing to discover, or to change, the greater social problems which may have given rise to his situation.[91]

Correctional Staff

During the 1950s, Corrections discontinued recruiting staff who had a military or semi-military background. Also, rather than employ people who were of large stature and had a lot of brawn, they began to look for people who could communicate well with others, were well-adjusted and mature.[92]

Corruption of some of the guards of the jail staff was still a problem in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Drunkenness on the job was common among some of the staff.[93] Also, in 1949, a report on Prince Albert Jail alleged that some of the guards were carrying messages for inmates, receiving money from relatives of inmates, stealing prisoners' clothing, supplying drugs and liquor to inmates, and stealing potatoes.[94] Some of these activities may still be carried on at present; however, there is scant record of it in Departmental files after the early 1950s.

In the 1950s programming for change also involved preparing institutional staff for these changes through staff training. Staff training was implemented gradually in Saskatchewan. At first meetings and discussions were held with staff, and training was on a voluntary basis. This voluntary approach to staff training was not very effective, however, because the people with ingrained attitudes did not participate in it and this made the gap between them and the other staff even wider.[95] In 1954 the first staff training syllabus was written, primarily by members of the treatment team. Staff training gradually became a formal requirement for employment. Examinations were set up, and staff had to pass at least their first year's examination of the three-year training program. If they failed in subsequent years, they were given the opportunity to rewrite their exams. In 1958-59 an agreement between the Saskatchewan Civil Service Association and Social Welfare made staff training a condition of employment.[96]

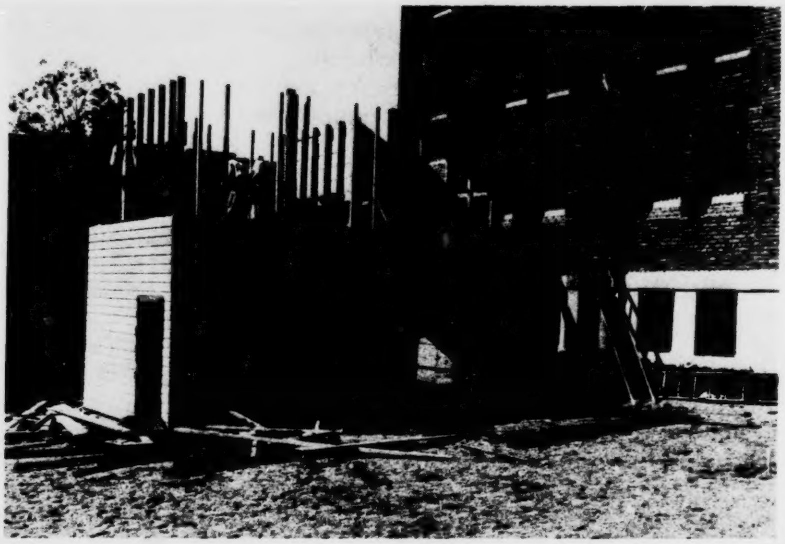
Staff training did not require a great deal of time. Staff met for two hours per week during some parts of the winter and the total time per year was probably not more than twenty to thirty hours. The effect of staff training is very difficult to measure. The staff interviews indicated that quite a number of staff members felt that it had a positive effect. It helped the staff understand people, why they acted as they did, why they came to jail, and what could be done for them. Prior to staff training, most of the staff saw inmates as "no-good buggers," but after staff training they began to understand and accept them more readily.[97]

During the 1960s inadequate staffing was viewed as a problem for the correctional system. There was still a rapid turnover of staff, and a lack of qualified staff in the treatment areas. In addition, there were insufficient custodial staff in the institutions,[98] and too few staff in Probation Services.

Capital Punishment

The ambiguity of capital punishment being carried out in a treatment-oriented system became apparent during this period. There were repeated discussions about whether the province was obligated to carry out capital punishment. In 1950, the director of Corrections had a Regina lawyer research the legal and constitutional basis for the performance of the death sentence in the provincial jails. The lawyer indicated that in his opinion it would be constitutional for the provincial government to enact legislation which would prohibit the carrying out of the sentence of death in the provincial jails. He stated that according to the Criminal Code, if no other place is mentioned by law, a person shall be imprisoned in the common jail of the locality in which the order for such imprisonment was made. Also, the Code stated that the judgment of death should be carried out within the walls of the prison in which the offender is confined at the time of the execution. He further indicated that:

> If it is rendered impossible by virtue of the nature, structure or other limitation inherent in such gaols, to carry out the death



Courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives

Inmates Dismantling Scaffold, Regina Jail, 1950s.

> penalty, then if such penalty is decreed by the court, it must be executed in a place other than a provincial gaol. And the province alone can determine whether such sentence is capable of being carried out, or shall be carried out, within the compass of its property. This authority derives from the proprietary rights of the province in its own institutions.

It was this lawyer's opinion that the Dominion government could not infringe on the administration of the provincial jails so long as they were operated under provincial authority deriving from Section 92, head 6 of the British North America Act, 1867. He concluded that the provincial legislature could prohibit the carrying out of the death penalty in prisons or reformatories over which it also exercised propietary rights.[99]

In the mid 1950s the Minister of Social Welfare is said to have told the federal Minister of Justice that the province would be unwilling to carry out the death sentence if they were called upon to do so.[100]

Crime and Criminals

Table 10 and 11 illustrate the nature of offences for which persons were confined to the correctional institutions from 1955-1966. There is no documentation available regarding the nature of offences prior to 1955.

TABLE 10

CRIMES CHARGED AGAINST MALE PRISONERS
1955-66

Offences	1955-56		1956-57		1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Against the person (except sex offences)	130	5.9	160	7.9	205	7.5	152	5.5	149	5.2	204	6.1	281	8.6	273	8.0	255	6.8	279	7.3	266	7.0
Against rights and property	514	23.4	448	22.0	649	23.8	1,008	36.7	1,071	37.4	909	27.4	990	30.8	1,007	29.5	930	24.8	913	23.0	866	22.8
Against moral & sex offences	23	1.1	26	1.3	27	1.0	12	.4	22	.8	12	.4	12	.4	18	.5	17	.5	37	.9	22	.6
Breach of Indian Act	185	8.4	164	8.4	241	8.8	227	8.3	235	8.2	405	12.2	172	5.4	169	4.9	112	3.0	54	1.4	70	1.8
Breach of By-laws	263	12.0	459	22.5	553	20.3	462	16.8	461	16.1	415	12.5	447	13.9	556	16.3	548	14.6	247	6.2	185	4.9
Traffic Violations	60	2.7	54	2.7	262	9.6	227	8.3	236	8.2	376	11.3	335	10.4	362	10.6	373	9.9	436	11.0	519	13.7
Liquor Violations	509	23.2	281	13.8	277	10.2	176	6.4	253	8.8	276	8.3	362	11.3	382	11.2	957	25.5	1,363	34.4	1,469	38.7
Breach of Prov. Statutes (except traffic & liquor)	97	4.4	62	3.0	62	2.3	25	.9	16	.6	15	.5	31	1.0	61	1.8	43	1.1	51	1.3	13	.3
Miscellaneous	418	19.0	385	18.9	454	16.6	461	16.8	424	14.8	708	21.3	583	18.2	590	17.3	522	13.9	588	14.8	391	10.3
Total	2,199		2,039		2,730		2,750		2,867		3,320		3,213		3,418		3,757		3,968		3,801	

Source: *Annual Reports*, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, 1956-66.

TABLE 11

CRIMES CHARGED AGAINST FEMALE PRISONERS
1955-56

Offences	1955-56		1956-57		1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Against the person (except sex offences)	7	2.6	—	—	—	—	13	3.3	14	3.8	22	4.4	27	4.5	21	3.6	23	2.8	31	4.2	14	2.1
Against rights and property	48	18.8	27	8.6	25	8.0	52	13.1	28	6.9	57	11.5	56	9.4	83	14.2	119	14.3	134	18.0	62	9.1
Against moral & sex offences	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Breach of Indian Act	71	27.8	110	37.8	105	33.6	145	36.5	146	36.1	126	25.4	103	17.3	77	13.2	31	3.7	90	12.1	15	2.2
Breach of By-laws	63	24.7	70	24.1	57	18.2	77	19.4	87	21.5	96	19.4	151	25.3	141	24.1	172	20.7	12	1.6	50	7.3
Traffic Violations	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	3.2	13	2.6	13	2.2	8	1.4	18	2.2	20	2.7	8	1.2
Liquor Violations	13	5.1	19	6.5	17	5.4	17	4.3	25	6.2	60	12.1	95	15.9	114	19.5	319	38.4	355	47.7	417	61.1
Breach of Prov. Statutes (except traffic & liquor)	—	—	3	1.0	3	1.0	5	1.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	1.2	7	.8	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	53	20.8	62	21.3	106	33.9	88	22.2	91	22.5	122	24.6	151	25.3	133	22.8	142	17.1	103	13.8	117	17.1
Total	255		291		313		397		404		496		596		584		831		745		683	

Source: *Annual Reports*, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, 1956-1966.

The previous cautionary statements regarding the interpretation of statistics apply to these figures. As discussed (see page 68), it is difficult to ascertain what the reported crime statistics included and excluded. It would appear that from 1955-1961 the crimes reported are those of all sentenced inmates, while from 1961-1966 it appears that only the most serious offences of the sentenced population were recorded.[101]

The 1953-54 Annual Report advises that one must use statistical data provided in the reports in a cautious way in attempting to gauge trends in criminality. It also states that the rising institutional population may reflect things other than an increase in criminal behaviour — things such as increasing unemployment, a tightening up of law enforcement and more effective detection of offenders.[102] In addition, during this period there was an increased use of probation and this would have affected institutional populations.

The statistics varied from year to year; changes in court practice could result in charges being laid under different legislation. Essentially most charges laid under the Liquor Act, the Indian Act, and by-law violations were liquor offences.[103] If one takes this into account, then this group of offences accounts for over 30% of all crimes charged against males and well over 50% of all crimes charged against females every year.

Annual Reports from the 1960s indicate that changes in liquor legislation accounted for growing populations in the Correctional Institutions. In the late 1950s liquor became more accessible. In 1959 Indians were allowed into liquor establishments, and women were allowed in on an equal basis with men.[104] In 1961-62 the Annual Report indicated that: "Convictions under the Bylaws, the Indian Act and the Liquor Act have increased by 25%. Most of the offences under the Bylaws and Indian Act were related to the use of alcohol." Similarly in 1963-64, the Annual Report stated that "the startling upsurge in population can, to a large degree, be traced to the fact that persons are now being charged for liquor offences under the Saskatchewan Liquor Act which carries stiffer penalties than the penalties formerly given under local Bylaws."[105] Tables 10 and 11 reveal that up until 1963 the most common single offence for males was against rights and property while females were most commonly charged under the Indian Act. Commencing in 1963 the single most common offence for both males and females became liquor violation.

There was an increase in the proportion of Indian and Metis people incarcerated, compared with people of other racial backgrounds. Exact numbers are not available, occasionally percentages are given. For example, in 1956-57 Metis and Indians formed 30% of the classified group in the institutions, compared with 70% from other racial backgrounds. However, Indians over the age of 15 years comprised only about 2.5% of the total population of the province.[106] Female admissions of Indian and Metis ancestry were very high compared with female admissions from other racial background. For example, in 1958-59 the Annual Report states that "it should be noted that of the 290 admissions, 222 were Treaty Indians, and 41 were Metis." Thus, Indian women made up 76.6% of all female admissions while Indian women over 15 years of age comprised only 2.6% of the total female population of the province. In 1959-60 approximately 80% of female admissions were Treaty Indians, over 10% were Metis and less than 10% were white. In that same year it was reported that 19% of the total admissions were Treaty Indian and 9% were Metis. However, only 2.5% of the population of the province were Indians over the age of 15 years of age.[107] This would indicate that the proportion of Indian and Metis incarcerated was very high compared with their distribution in the general population and that male admissions, in this group, were proportionally lower than female admissions. It also seems that Treaty Indians made up a higher proportion of admissions than Metis.

The 1964-65 Annual Report again points to the high number of Indian and Metis women — approximately 78% of female admissions were Treaty Indian, 12% were Metis and 10% were of some other racial origin. The Annual Report goes on to note that most of the women were serving sentences for offences which occurred in connection with liquor and that a high proportion (60%) of the female admissions were for breach of the Saskatchewan Liquor Act. In addition, 75% of female admissions were for non-payment of fines.[108] This could be a reflection of social conditions, the laws governing the use of alcohol, or the inability (poverty) or unwillingness to pay fines.

Community Involvement

During the 1950s and 1960s greater emphasis was placed on community involvement in provincial corrections. This development reflected a turnabout in thinking from the early days when it was felt that inmates should be totally isolated from the community (to the extent of not being allowed a newspaper), and that the community should be totally isolated from the institutions (only the prisoners' immediate families, clergymen, lawyers, and the doctor being allowed in).

The 1946 Penal Commission recognized the importance of community involvement and linked it with prevention. Neither of these terms was clearly defined, nor was much elaboration on methods of implementation given. The 1946 Commission stated that "until basic causes are recognized within the individual, the home and community in which he lives, delinquency and crime can be neither controlled nor prevented." According to the 1946 Penal Commission, schools should play a greater role in socialization; community recreation programs should be established; public agencies ought to pay more attention to persons who exhibit behavioural problems. The Commission members believed in the need for active support of character-building agencies, such as the Church and its organizations, the Scouts, the Guides, the YMCA, and the YWCA. Also, the Commission suggested that an Advisory Council for the Prevention of Crime and Delinquency be set up, composed of organizations such as various women's organizations, religious denominations and school associations.[109] This recommendation was never implemented.

In the 1950s the Corrections Branch emphasized the responsibility of the community in both crime prevention and the reformation of the offender. In fact, it was felt that the burden of recidivism rested on the shoulders of the public as much as on Corrections.[110] Reformation of the criminal depended upon the average citizen as much as upon the state. Although this responsibility was placed on the community, exactly what it was supposed to do about reform, was never specified. Evidence suggests that the new probation service was expected to stimulate and organize community interest. In fact, in 1950 it was suggested that the probation staff be expanded for this purpose.[111]

Some public education activities were carried out by the Corrections Branch in the 1950s. These took the form of addresses to parent-teacher groups, church organizations, women's groups, service clubs, and occasionally to the press for release.[112] Another attempt to communicate with the community began in 1955 with an information bulletin, *The Saskatchewan Bridge*, published by correctional staff for the police, judiciary, and private citizens. It included articles which were primarily concerned with the treatment philosophy. Every year acknowledgements were given in the Corrections Branch Annual Reports praising private citizens and organizations for their part "in restoring offenders to useful and satisfying lives." Recognition was given "to the John Howard Societies, women's organizations, religious bodies, social agencies, service clubs, school authorities, and many other individuals and groups . . . ."[113] There is evidence that community involvement grew as a result. For example, starting in 1952 an Alcoholics Anonymous group paid regular visits to the Prince Albert Jail and held meetings with inmates.[114]

Christmas concerts were an annual event in the jails, and the public was invited to attend. Also, the male inmates at Prince Albert Jail were involved in fighting forest fires in the local municipality. They were said to have the best fire-fighting crew in the north.[115]

The women's jail seems to have sought community interest more than mens institutions did. For example, the women's jail held a reception for the mayor of Prince Albert, the city council, and leaders

Seasons Greetings

Courtesy of Mr. Russ Cross

Christmas Concert, Prince Albert Jail, 1950s.

of civic and community affairs. They also had the local weaving club meet in the jail. A bazaar and a tea became an annual affair at the women's jail.[116] The women prisoners sold their handicrafts at the bazaar, which was generally well-attended. In 1958, the annual bazaar and tea were held, in conjuction with one of the Hospital Auxiliaries, at the women's jail.[117] Staff and inmates worked very hard to make the Annual bazaar a social event. They decorated the jail and the prisoners assisted in selling some of the handicrafts and in serving lunch. Various women's groups from the community attended the bazaar.[118]

Some women volunteers went into the women's jail and donated their services. For example, a minister's wife held counselling sessions with the women, and another taught painting.[119] There were projects during the 1950s to get inmates into the community. Again, it seemed that the women's jail was more active than the men's jails in this type of activity, possibly because the community felt less of a threat from the women inmates than from the men. Also, the women's jail did not have the farm operation or vocational training shops which were available to the male inmates.

Baseball Game, Prince Albert Jail, 1950s.

Courtesy of Mr. Russ Cross

Probation and Parole

In 1948 a provincial adult probation and parole division was set up. It was responsible for probation services. Also, the province provided supervision to parolees, but the legislation governing parole remained at the federal level. The setting up of an adult probation and parole service was one method of getting the offender into the community. The probation unit was small in the early 1950s. In 1951, there were only three probation officers — one in Saskatoon, one in Regina, and one in Moose Jaw. The functions included probation supervision, legal parole under the federal Ticket-of-Leave Act, and voluntary after-care services.[120] Because of insufficient staff, the service suffered in the formative years. Actually, the concept of probation did not become popular overnight. It took the magistrates, crown prosecutors and police some time to accept the idea. In fact, it took about four years (1948-1952) before this acceptance became evident. One of the reasons for favouring probation was that it provided supervision rather than just giving an offender a suspended sentence as was the practice at the time. It was also thought that probation would keep the institutional populations down, and save the offender from the potentially harmful effects of institutionalization.

In 1949, interviews about probation were conducted with five Saskatchewan magistrates. They reported that in sentencing they used the old suspended sentence with no supervision order. These magistrates indicated that they felt pre-sentence reports would be helpful at the time of imposing a sentence.[121]

Little expansion of the adult probation services took place prior to 1960. In fact, probation services focused primarily on juveniles. Services were provided through the Regional Service Branch of the Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation. Probation and parole services were being provided by social workers specifically allocated for this purpose in Regina, Saskatoon, and Moose Jaw.[122] Also it was mentioned that parole service delivery was being shared with the John Howard Societies in Saskatoon and Prince Albert. Services for probation were extended to Prince Albert and North Battleford in 1958-59.[123]

During the 1960s probation services were expanded in the province. In 1962 there were three full-time probation officers — two in Regina and one in Saskatoon. Prince Albert, Moose Jaw, and North Battleford each had one part-time worker. In these three centres, probation supervision was provided only in selected cases at the request of the court.[124] There is some indication that during the early 1960s the provincial magistrates courts were placing more importance on the pre-sentence reports than they formerly had done. Probation was increasingly viewed as an alternative to fines and incarcerations.[125] At the outset, probation was still fairly restricted. A manual was developed which helped to explain the probation service to the courts, police and staff.

Probation service was expanding but staffing was inadequate. When probation was provided on a part-time basis by regional welfare workers, it was often viewed as an infringement on their time. There was also an awkward administrative setup whereby the chief probation officer, who was in the Corrections Branch, had program authority over the probation officers in the field, but line authority went through Regional Services. So there was a dual responsibility system.[126]

Certain magistrates found that they could not make use of probation in rural areas because of the limited services available. Sometimes probation positions would be co-opted into other social work positions because there was a pressing need for social services in rural areas. The major function of the probation officer was to help the offender to keep the conditions of his probation, and to prepare pre-sentence reports for the court. Some counselling of the probationer was done in an attempt to assist him in acquiring job skills and to encourage him to move into positive avenues.[127]

Work Camps

A new idea which was implemented during the 1950s was that of work camps in which the offender served part of his sentence outside the institution. In 1953, a group of inmates from Prince Albert Jail picked pine cones for eleven days in a park operated by the Department of Natural Resources. The project received a glowing report in the local newspaper. The news article stated, in apparent amazement, that although the men were not locked up at the camp, they did not escape. The news article also pointed out that the project was for the purposes of rehabilitating the offender.[128] It should be remembered that this type of project was quite novel and had it been undertaken prior to 1946 the prisoners would probably have been wearing organ boots and would have been watched by an armed guard.

Before the end of 1955 another work camp was established and the men were allowed to commute from Prince Albert Jail to the work place where they cut fence posts. It was claimed that this setting improved the attitudes and habits of a number of the inmates.[129]

Again in 1956, the work camps involved two projects both in connection with the Department of Natural Resources. One was a ten-day tree planting operation at Fort à la Corne; another was a pine cone harvesting operation. The following year, work camps out of Prince Albert Jail were again expanded to include tree planting at Fort à la Corne, pine cone collecting at Candle Lake, cutting timber at Malonek, and cutting diseased trees from forest areas. These camps were usually of short duration, lasting from a couple of weeks to a couple of months. The objective of these camps was "to provide opportunities for a freer expression of feeling, a more spontaneous formation of confident inmate-staff relationships, and work experiences which can and have led to subsequent employment."[130]

A camp opened by Regina Jail staff in 1959 at Kenosee, Saskatchewan, was used for first offenders and non-violent offenders. Its purpose was to give the inmates more freedom and to improve their working ability. The camp was quite well accepted in the community.[131]

During the 1960s the work camps were expanded. One of the reasons for the expansion of the work camps was the desire to help relieve overcrowding in the institutions, to reduce the negative influences of the jails, and to provide meaningful work, and some treatment for inmates. This latter objective was initially provided for through counselling. Treatment staff had been assigned to this program. By the early 1960s, however, the treatment aspect of the camps was almost completely discontinued because of lack of professionally trained staff. One exception was Holbein forestry camp, which was specifically set up as an Alcoholics Anonymous camp.[132] The existence of a camp program encouraged inmates to make a good showing in the institution so that they would be elibible for camp.[133] This suggests that programs such as the work camps also facilitated control of the inmates in the institution.

Two camps were operated out of the Regina institution in the early 1960s. Both work camps were situated in provincial parks: one at Kenosee in 1960, and another at Buffalo Pound in 1963. Another forestry camp was set up out of Prince Albert in 196[illegible] at White Gull. By April 1965 the average daily population of the three Prince Albert camps (Holbein, Fort à la Corne and White Gull) was sixty-three inmates, with a maximum capacity of ninety.[134]

In 1963, inmates were paid $.65/day or $3.25/week for working at camp. They were not paid for the first two weeks at the camp because this was a probationary period.[135] The camps served as pre-release programs for some of the better-behaved, low-risk inmates.

The camps were quite informal. In fact, the distinction between staff and inmates was not always apparent because they all wore the khaki clothing provided by the institution. One day an official from a government department came to visit one of the camps. Ten inmates and one officer all dressed alike and standing in a circle greeted the official. He could not figure out which one was the staff member and so finally had to ask the obvious question, "Which one of you is the officer in charge here?"[136]

Another incident at one of the camps illustrated how responsible some of the camp inmates were. The officer in charge of one of the camps became very ill. Instead of abandoning the officer and escaping, the inmates radioed the main institution and then proceeded to drive the sick officer to the nearest hospital. The inmates then went to the correctional institution and went to their regular cells for the night.[137]

By the early 1960s, there were some problems with the forestry camps which operated out of Prince Albert Jail. According to Ray Slough, a former superintendent of the jail, the major problem was the lack of departmental policy regarding the camps. The forestry camps had begun as a response to problems of overcrowding in the Prince Albert Jail. They were set up on the initiative of some staff at the jail and had developed quite independent of departmental policy. The department had not taken the initiative to develop either objectives for the camps or any policies regarding their staffing.[138]

By 1966 there were plans for closing down the forestry camps and moving into the provincial park type of camp in cooperation with the Department of Natural Resources. It was recommended at that time that Holbein and Fort à la Corne be closed.[139] Some of the reasons for cutting back on the lumber operations were outlined by the superintendent of Prince Albert Jail. Staff were not able to handle the equipment and breakdowns were always occurring. It was difficult to find staff who were capable and willing to work in the camp situation. In the early 1960s, the inmate count was low. As a result, inmates placed in camps were no longer hand-picked so that the risk of failure was higher. The training value of the camps was in question because surrounding bush camps were becoming highly mechanized, and the camps operated by the jail were behind the times.[140] Also, Holbein camp (the Alcoholics Anonymous camp) was the only one claiming to provide treatment at that time. However, the superintendent of Prince Albert Jail felt that the atmosphere of the camp was so relaxed that it was not conductive to the learning of good work habits, or to rehabilitation and he said that "it tended to give inmates placed there a nice, easy way to do time."[141] This statement suggests that the punitive philosophy which dominated past eras of corrections was still in the minds of some corrections officials when they made decisions.

Work camps in the provincial parks had several advantages. The park personnel were responsible for the work assignments and the provision of equipment. Secondly, it was a more flexible type of work arrangement to which crews could be added or withdrawn without much disruption of the program. This was an asset since the jail population fluctuated. Also, fewer correctional staff were required in the provincial park setting.[142]

John Howard Society

After-care services were not very well developed in the 1950s. It is difficult to find evidence of any attempts to improve the service. Society seemed indifferent to ex-inmates and communities had not developed resources to assist them because of a shortage of trained personnel.[143]

In the late 1950s, the provincial body of the John Howard Society of Saskatchewan was incorporated. The first John Howard Society in Saskatchewan had been established in the 1940s and operated by laymen who received grants mainly from charitable organizations. In the 1960s the United Appeal began funding the John Howard Society and the role of the Society changed. In the beginning the Society had been viewed as a charitable, handout service and it had the reputation of being a soft touch for transients. That changed during the early 1960s. The Society began to focus on social adjustment and rehabilitation of the offender and ex-offender.[144]

One of the principles of the John Howard Society in the 1960s was to provide direct service. This was primarily in the form of pre-release and after-care services to inmates and ex-inmates. It was felt that direct service was necessary in order to play the role of social critic and to provide meaningful recommendations for legal and penal reforms, and public education.[145] Another principle was to attempt to understand and improve social, economic, and moral conditions. It was felt that the John Howard Society was in a particularly good position to do this because its roots were in the community. Its support base rested on the local boards which were, ideally, supposed to represent the diverse interests of the community. During the 1960s, however, the local John Howard Boards came more and more to be made up of professionals. The Society was seen as having a special position regarding reform and public education because it did not operate under the administration of a government department (or political party). The Society felt free to choose areas of service and clients and was able to maintain a higher standard of service than volunteers could provide. In addition, the Society was flexible enough to experiment with different methods and techniques of service.[146]

The interests of the John Howard Society in the 1960s included legal and penal reform. The Society did research, and prepared briefs on legal and penal issues at both the provincial and federal levels. Mr. Heinemann, former executive director of the Society, indicates that some of the Society's recommendations on corrections programs and other reforms were implemented. He is very skeptical, however, about whether any of these changes had an impact on the crime rates which continued to increase, as did the recidivism rate.[147] The idea that penal programs can influence crime rates was onc of the original promises set out for rehabilitation. Rehabilitative programs in the penal system were supposed to change the law breaker into a law-abiding citizen and thus the crime rate would fall. However, in recent times the extent to which penal programs can influence the crime rate has come into question.

In 1961, the federal government had no parole staff in the province except regional representatives who handled parole applications. The John Howard Society's parole supervision work, on contract, increased during the early 1960s. In 1965, it consumed one third of the Society's man hours.[148] The extensive parole supervision function of the Society aligned it closely with the establishment and some considered this to be the reason why inmates who were not on parole were not breaking down the doors of the John Howard Society.

The Society provided some counselling services to inmates and ex-inmates in pre-release and after-care. The goal was to help the person make a satisfactory adjustment and function independently in the community. The Society felt that it was successful at rehabilitating persons who had a fair degree of stability, some skills, and did not have a serious criminal record. Of course, these persons might never have recidivated anyway. The Society was less successful with Indian and Metis offenders, and chronic recidivists. The reason it failed with native people was because of cultural differences and communication problems.[149]

The John Howard Society also played a public relations, social action role. The members tried to mobilize public support and opinion on certain issues. They tried to accomplish this through their newsletter which they began publishing in the early 1960s,[150] and by speaking to various groups such as police personnel and law students. As a result, more professionals became involved with the Society, both on the boards and on staff. In 1961, lay volunteers were still supervising parole. Several of these people moved into permanent positions when core funding became available, but the Society also began hiring people with university degrees, preferably in social work, or with a B.A. degree in the social sciences. In-service training was provided by the Society. The movement from laymen volunteers to professional staff was viewed as a positive one because it enabled the Society to expand its services and provide a more consistent type of service. Volunteers' services had been at the discretion of the volunteer, and volunteers tended to react to a situation after problems occurred. It was felt that professional staff offered more support and assistance and had more consistent contact with the parolees.[151] This view of volunteers is interesting in view of the Society's present attempt to move back to utilizing more volunteers to provide services.

The 1960 Annual Report of the Society indicated that professional involvement with the Society was growing. There were a number of reasons for this. One was the government's urging that the Society improve its standards, quality of work, and professional services, possibly as a result of the need for increased parole services in the province. The government was expanding its services in the public welfare area, and the role of the private agencies had to be considered. Also, there was an increase in the amount of work to be done, work which could not have been expected of laymen volunteers.[152]

The governing Boards of the Society also came to consist of a more professional membership for a number of reasons. It was considered necessary to include persons who had contacts in the community and who could exert some influence in relation to funding, and to get a better base of professional input into matters of legal and penal reform. It was also thought to be easier to work with boards of professionals than with volunteers. The thinking was that professionals understood other professionals and, therefore, it was easier for them to work with governments.[153] Thus the Society became better known and accepted by the community and by the people in government agencies.

Funding was a perennial problem for the Society. A lot of time and energy was devoted to the pursuit of funds. The establishment of the John Howard Society of Canada in 1962 made the channels of federal funding more accessible, and during the 1960s, the Society received increased financial support from both the provincial and federal governments.[154]

In summary, during the early 1960s efforts were beginning to be directed toward community involvement in corrections and community-based programming for offenders. This movement was gradual and did not really gain momentum until the late 1960s and early 1970s. Rehabilitation of the offender was still considered the most important function of the correctional system, but the period of strictly institutional treatment was over.

4. Community Corrections: 1967-1975

During this period the trend towards community-based correctional services progressed. Rehabilitation was still one of the primary objectives of corrections but the basic premise now was that the community was somehow therapeutic, whereas in the 1946-1966 period, treatment was carried out primarily in the institutions.

The 1967 Corrections Act laid the legislative foundation for community corrections. The 1971 Corrections Committee and the 1975 Corrections Proposal strongly supported the community corrections orientation.

There were many new correctional programs implemented during this period. Most of them were oriented toward the integration of the offender in the community or the normalization of the life of the offender — having the offender work in the community and maintain contact with his family and friends. Deinstitutionalization and the advent of community psychiatry had been the basic thrust of mental health programs in Saskatchewan, beginning in the 1950s. The basic premise was that institutionalization had deleterious effects on the patients and attempts were made to ensure that patients would never have to be hospitalized or be hospitalized for only short periods. In the late 1950s juvenile services began to develop a similar concept in Saskatchewan. It is interesting that nearly twenty years later the same concept is being incorporated into the correctional system. At the same time as the community corrections program was being implemented, treatment programs within the institutions remained similar to those implemented during the 1950s and early 1960s. Although rehabilitation was officially one of the prime objectives of corrections, the philosophy of punishment and the emphasis on custody were still evident.

1967 Corrections Act

A new Corrections Act was introduced in 1967. This Act dealt with three main concepts — work training for persons sentenced to correctional institutions; probation; and parole for persons sentenced under provincial statutes. Under the work training program, persons could obtain or continue employment, attend an educational institution, undergo medical treatment, or participate in other programs that the minister deemed advisable. These three concepts (work training, probation, and parole) indicate the community orientation of corrections. In the legislative debate on the 1967 Corrections Act, the Minister of Social Welfare, Mr. C. McDonald, stated that crime and delinquency were closely related to problems in the community. The 1965-66 Annual Report makes a similar statement: "Crime is closely associated with the more general problems of poverty, unemployment, lack of educational opportunity, and social disadvantages . . . crime and criminals develop in the community, and the ultimate solution to a criminal's problem will be found in the community." This view had been expressed by the 1946 Penal Commission. The first moves in this direction were the establishment of probation and parole, but the concept of community corrections was not fully accepted until the late 1960s when the idea began to gain impetus. The idea that work training was a program for persons needing more control or supervision than persons on probation and less than persons in an institution was presented in the 1967 legislative debate.[1] This was the first time the concept of differential supervision appeared.

The community corrections concepts were promoted on the basis of three main motives. These were the reduction in costs, good treatment, and progressiveness. In the 1967 debate, Mr. C. McDonald, Minister of Social Welfare stated that "it costs over $3,000 a year to keep a man in custody, while it costs $150 per year to supervise a person in the community." He indicated that community-based programs were good treatment and would save the taxpayers money. He also stated that this legislation was the most progressive provincial legislation in the Dominion of Canada.[2] The only difference between the rationale for implementing treatment in the 1950 Corrections Act, and that for implementing Community Corrections in the 1967 Corrections Act was that a reduction in the crime rate was not promised in 1967. It was stated only that community corrections was good treatment. The increase in crime conviction rates since the advent of treatment made it difficult to argue that treatment programs alone could reduce the crime rate. Possibly two other reasons why community corrections gained impetus in the late 1960s were the growing popularity of such programs in the United States, and the growing realization amongst many people involved with corrections in Saskatchewan that institutional treatment was not as successful as had been expected.

To coincide with the firm commitment to the community corrections orientation, the institutions were renamed "centres." The renaming was to reflect the idea that the institutions were centres from which selected inmates participated in community-based programs.[3]

1971 Corrections Committee

In 1971, a Corrections Study Committee was established to study the effectiveness of the correctional system in Saskatchewan and to recommend changes for the future. The Committee was established jointly by the provincial Department of Welfare, and the Corrections Consultation Center of the Federal Ministry of the Solicitor General. The Committee comprised representatives from the Department of Public Health, the Attorney General's Department, the R.C.M.P., and the National Parole Board. The Deputy Director of Corrections from British Columbia, Dr. Malcolm Matheson, chaired the Committee.[4]

The Committee made recommendations in the general areas of organization, probation, institutions, Indian and Metis offenders, special offender groups, staff development, research and development, and parole. It found the agencies responsible for the criminal justice system (the police, judiciary, and corrections) "to be fragmented in terms of operations, objectives and philosophy." Also, there were conflicts of philosophy between agencies in approaches to crime. Effective communication was lacking among these agencies, and there was no overall integrated planning. Because of a lack of proper evaluation, information on the effectiveness of certain programs was lacking. The Committee advocated a coordinated approach to criminal justice matters through a Master Planning Council, composed of representatives of the various criminal justice agencies. Its purpose would be to set the overall objectives, policy and guidelines for the system and to provide feed-back to the sub-systems. This Council required a full-time secretariat, advisory bodies of representatives from the community, and an information system. To aid this integrated systems approach the Committee recommended that Corrections be housed in the Attorney General's Department. It was felt that the issues being dealt with were crime and the protection of society from criminal victimization, and not welfare. The Committee further recommended that the objective of the criminal justice system was the protection of society and this should be evaluated through a victimization index. Such an index could be constructed by the number of crimes multiplied by the weighted score of the seriousness of the offence. The index would be helpful in making decisions about particular offenders and could predict their chances of being rearrested and charged.[5]

The Committee pointed out the lack of clearly defined goals for corrections and the lack of accountability in the achievement of goals. The Committee stated:

> In terms of objectives within corrections, there is no accountability for the achievement of objectives. There is a facade of official objectives as stated within the act and annual reports, but there is no measurement of the degree to which these objectives are being

> achieved, or to what extent the priorities are assigned in terms of the allocation of resources to these objectives. Further, the objectives are not clearly spelled out so the program areas operate on very vague goals, and are really unclear as to exactly what they are expected to achieve. This has resulted in the flow of funds into high cost institutional programs which yield a questionable return.[6]

The Committee believed that a number of "sacred cows" still plagued corrections. These were: an over-emphasis on security, remands being housed in maximum security units, the size of institutions, counselling provided only by professionals, a lack of prison industries which were a straight work effort, and the social history approach to classification of offenders.[7]

The Committee felt that Saskatchewan's prisons were overused. It placed a strong emphasis on community corrections, in particular, an expansion of the probation services which, it felt, would reduce prison costs. The report noted that the greatest number of charges under the provincial statutes were laid under the Liquor Act or Motor Vehicle Act, and these offences usually involved the use of alcohol. Under the federal statutes, the most common offences came under the Indian Act, the Narcotics Control Act, and the Food and Drug Act. The Committee found that in the fiscal year 1969-70, of some 4,399 cases brought before the courts, only 20.7% were placed on probation, while 79.3% were committed to institutions. It recommended that 64 probation officers be hired in addition to the seventeen who were already on the job. The Committee also recommended that use be made of volunteer and assistant probation officers. The assistant probation officers were to be recruited primarily from Indian and Metis persons and experienced correctional officers. It was suggested that the federal government should pay for 20 assistant probation officers for Indian and Metis people because these people were essentially governed by federal policies. An extensive in-service training program was needed for probation staff and the Committee recommended that they use regional welfare office space and facilities, but that supervision and direction come from supervisory staff in probation services rather than regional welfare staff. Alternatives within probation were proposed such as the use of probation hostels, weekends in custody, or working on public projects as an alternative to paying a fine.[8]

The Committee considered Pine Grove to be inappropriate as a women's facility. It had been built as a maximum security institution with a capacity of 73 inmates. When the Committee visited Pine Grove, only 30 inmates were in custody. In 1969-70, there were 246 admissions to Pine Grove. Of these, 71.9% were for the non-payment of fines, 228 were Indian and Metis, and the majority of them were sentenced to one month or less. The Committee suggested that Pine Grove be used as a

Psychiatric Research and Treatment Unit. It was estimated that Indian and Metis people formed approximately 8% of the total population of the province but that they constituted more than 50% of the prison population. It was felt that this disproportionate representation was a result of the more general social and economic problems facing native people. A significant number were charged under the Liquor Act and the Motor Vehicle Act, while the most common offences under the criminal code were thefts and assaults. The Committee stated that "crimes among the Indians and Metis are impulsive, unpremeditated, poorly executed and involve alcohol, either directly or indirectly." The Committee recommended that Indian police be used on the reserves. Also, it suggested that lock-up services be made available on or near the reserves for short-term sentences, that probation services be extended to the reserves, and that Indians be hired as assistant probation officers.[9]

The Committee advised that alcoholics be dealt with as public health problems rather than as criminals. They suggested that detoxication centers be developed and used in place of jails and that persons sentenced by the courts might be sentenced to alcohol treatment centres.[10]

The Committee suggested that the low morale and high turnover of correctional staff were a result of several factors: in particular, the lack of career lines open to correctional officers and their lack of involvement in counselling and program services. It was suggested that correctional officers be entrusted with tasks usually carried out by the professional counsellors. The Committee thought that correctional staff could perform this function just as well as the counsellors. It also proposed that all personnel beginning work in Saskatchewan's Criminal Justice System by given pre-employment training at the Saskatchewan Technical Institute.[11]

The Matheson Study emphasized the need for more after-care services for inmates released either upon completion of their sentence or on parole. Regarding prevention, the Committee stressed the need for educating the public on drug use. They suggested that Indian Affairs provide a full-time worker as crime prevention co-ordinator, and that the Department of Education provide a curriculum which was more in line with Indian needs and interests. They emphasized the major need for an information system to provide feedback on the effectiveness of programs, and the need to identify appropriate kinds of treatment for different kinds of inmates.[12] Separate remand centres could serve as forensic clinics to the courts, and classification centres for prisoners could be built in Regina, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert.[13]

In many ways the recommendations of the 1971 Committee were similar to those made twenty-five years earlier by the Saskatchewan

Penal Commission. For instance, both the Commission and the Committee strongly advocated the establishment of a full probation program. They both stressed methods of crime prevention and an extended after-care system. Both were concerned about reducing crime, protecting society, and saving the taxpayer money through the use of alternatives to incarceration. There were, however, some major differences between the 1946 Commission and the 1971 Committee. For one thing, the backgrounds of the members of the Committee were different from those of the Commission. The 1946 Commission was made up of persons from outside the correctional field, most of whom were actively involved in social reform at the time. They advocated a multi-disciplinary, social science approach to dealing with crime. Rehabilitating the offender was the most important function of Corrections. They recommended the hiring of professionals from the social sciences to contend with the crime problem. They were very optimistic and believed in the application of treatment and of social science theories to crime. In fact, nearly every one of the 1946 recommendations was rationalized on the basis of treatment.

In contrast, the 1971 Committee was essentially composed of specialists from within the Criminal Justice System. They viewed crime as an empirical and administrative problem. They felt that there was a necessity for more co-ordination and cooperation between the components of the Criminal Justice System. They recommended the use of non-professionals and volunteers rather than professionals. The Committee viewed crime as a law and order problem — the protection of society from criminal victimization should be the function of Corrections. The Committee was rather skeptical about treatment and did not discuss it. Essentially the 1946 Commission advocated a treatment approach while the 1971 Committee advocated a management approach to Corrections.

Organizational Changes

In October 1968 a reorganization occurred within the Department of Welfare. This reorganization dissolved the existing Corrections Branch. The department was reorganized so that all institutions of the department came under one branch. Three branches were created: Institutions, Regional Services, and Programs Division. This was an administrative approach to reorganization. It was felt that it would be more efficient to group similar areas together. A former Director of Institutions stated that this reorganization was a disaster. It separated certain programs which should logically have been together. With policy entirely separated from service delivery, policies could be developed in an ivory tower without knowledge of particular needs or problems in existing policies.[14]

In 1972 a Corrections Division was set up within the Department of Social Services under a Director of Corrections. This Division was given exclusive responsibility for correctional services in the province. The Division included three sections: Probation, Community Corrections, and Correctional Centers. Corrections remained with the Department of Social Services despite the 1971 Corrections Committee recommendation that it be moved to the Department of the Attorney General. In 1973, the Programs Division of Social Services, set out the rationale for keeping Corrections within Social Services. It noted that the rehabilitative function of corrections was similar to that of Social Services, and required similar types of expertise and skills, and a similar frame of reference. Crime and other social problems were interrelated and required similar solutions. Furthermore, a strong link existed among various Social Service programs such as Corrections, Child Welfare, and Family Services. Social Services already had an extensive regional delivery system which could be used by Corrections. Corrections used some support services of Social Services such as Personnel and Training. Vocational Rehabilitation for Disabled Persons (V.R.D.P.), a federal plan for the cost-sharing of rehabilitative services, was available to Corrections through Social Services. And finally, professional staff could be recruited more readily to Corrections in Social Services than in the Attorney General's Department because of better advancement opportunities within the former.[15]

The location of Corrections was a question which arose periodically throughout the early 1970s with some preference shown for its location in the Attorney General's Department (to reflect the social control function).

Corrections Coordinating Committee

The 1971 Corrections Committee had recommended that a Master Planning Council be established which would fashion and coordinate Criminal Justice Policy. There was an impasse, however, in the development of this Council because of problems relating to the definition of roles, and structure of the Council. As a result of these problems, a Corrections Coordinating Committee which took the place of the Master Planning Council, was established in November 1973. Members of the Committee were appointed in August 1974. The membership included representatives from Corrections, magistrates court, the RCMP, the Attorney General's Department, Legal Services Commission, Forensic Psychiatry, Department of Northern Saskatchewan, and an Executive Secretary.

The purposes of the Coordinating Committee were: to coordinate the overall approach to corrections among departments and agencies affected by their policies; to serve as a vehicle for exchange of information among criminal justice agencies, and to resolve problems among these agencies; to collect and disseminate information from private agencies, community, and consumer groups, which related to correctional programming; to serve as an advisory body to the Minister of Social Services on correctional policies, programs, funding, legislation, and research; to provide feedback to the judiciary and others regarding sentencing alternatives available to the judge, and the rehabilitative effectiveness of various correctional programs.[16] This meant that other criminal justice agencies had input into correctional policies and planning, but that Corrections did not have the same opportunity to have input into the policy and planning of other criminal justice agencies.

Department of Northern Saskatchewan

In May 1972 a separate department, the Department of Northern Saskatchewan, which had jurisdiction over the northern part of Saskatchewan, came into existence. It incorporated all government services in the north, with the exception of the Attorney General's Department and Highways, under one Minister. In September 1972 an Order-in-Council transferred the provisions of the 1967 Corrections Act from the Minister of Social Services to the Minister of Northern Saskatchewan. The Director of Health and Social Services also became the Director of Corrections for Northern Saskatchewan. The Department of Northern Saskatchewan attempted to apply the principle of community corrections in the North. The vehicles for community corrections were probation, probation hostels, and the community corrections officer program. Probation services to the North were limited but the officers attempted innovative ways of dealing with problems. For example, they developed good relationships with the RCMP and magistrates and sought employment for offenders.[17]

New Developments and Programs in the Institutions

All inmates in the correctional centres who were considered physically and mentally fit were expected to be involved in work or education.[18] Many of these activities appeared to have been recreationally oriented. There was not so heavy an emphasis on treatment as there had been in the 1946-1966 period.

However, the post-1960 annual reports presented a complimentary picture of the advance of treatment in the correctional system. Success rates for probation and parole were often stated. In 1968 the success rate for probation was 86% compared with 88% and 82% for the previous two years. The success rate was the percentage of offenders who had successfully completed probation.[19] By using this criterion for the institution the success rate would probably have been very close to 100%.

In the early 1970s the farm operation at the Regina Jail was phased out. Upon review of the farm operation in 1972 Mr. Terry Thompson, Acting Director of Institutional Services, stated that the trend in most prisons in North America was to discontinue the farm program. He also stated that the farm was no longer the economic base for the institution and that it was, in fact, a financial liability. He indicated that it was difficult to get inmates to work on the farm.[20] This is interesting because prior to 1946 the farm had been the main feature of the jails.

In 1970 the education program at the Regina Correctional Centre consisted of Junior Upgrading — an eight week course which would upgrade persons with an academic grade six standing to a vocational grade eight standing. Adult grade ten was sixteen weeks in length and designed to bring persons with grade eight standing up to a grade ten level. Correspondence study was also available. There were nine vocational training shops: barbering, electronics, welding, motor vehicle mechanical repair, painting, woodwork, shoemaking and repair, tailoring, and interest shop. In addition, on-the-job training was provided in cooking, laundry, maintenance, and agriculture. Two voluntary teachers had begun in 1970, but only a limited number of inmates took part in the educational program. For example, in the years 1969-70 the admissions under sentence to the Regina Correctional Centre were 1,955. Only 106 enrolled in educational upgrading and 838 inmates participated in vocational training. The average length of stay in vocational training was 2.5 months and only 10 trade certificates were granted by the Department of Labour.[21]

In June, 1971, a Counselling Unit was set up at the Regina Correctional Centre. The objectives of the Counselling Unit were the provision of positive corrective experience and meaningful programming for all inmates. Prior to the establishment of the Counselling Unit, the treatment team (classification, psychology, family therapy, work training, education, and group activities) operated as a team of specialists, each responsible for their particular area of internal administrative functions. One problem with this type of arrangement, was that treatment staff were so busy maintaining order and security in the institution that they could not give inmates the needed and wanted personal attention. Also, the structure made it impossible to coordinate services. Inmates could play one staff decision against another, and could go from one treatment staff member to the next until they were able to get the decision that they wanted.[22]

The Counselling Unit was composed of one supervisor and five counsellors. All inmates serving over three months would be seen by the Counselling Unit and assigned a worker who was responsible for coordinating services for that inmate during his incarceration. The Counselling Unit facilitated better communication between the inmate's counsellor and custodial staff, community agencies, and interest groups. The Unit provided more systematic procedures and more realistic job placements for inmates. However, counsellors were overworked and custodial staff and inmates complained about the lack of availability of the counsellors.[23]

The first Life Skills course for inmates was initiated in Regina in the fall of 1972. Half of the six-week course was held in the Correctional Centre and the other half in the YMCA. The course centred on learning about self and environment. In addition to group discussions, the Life Skills program was supplemented by group activities and individual counselling sessions.[24] This approach sounds very similar in principle to the original activities of group work in the jails in the early 1950s.

Medical services to the male correctional centres had been arranged on a contractual basis with local physicians. At both centres sick parades were held twice weekly and a nurse was available on regular day shifts. Dental services were also supplied on a contractual basis with the dentist coming to the centre once per week. The women's centre purchased all of the medical and dental services on a fee-for-service basis in the city of Prince Albert.[25] In 1974 Mr. T. Thompson, the Director of Corrections, indicated that the complaints by inmates to the Minister and to the Ombudsman concerning medical services outnumbered all other complaints. He also indicated that the medical doctor serving the Regina Centre was particularly unsatisfactory. He was an old army doctor and did not have a very positive attitude towards inmates.[26] Complaints about medical services have always been common among inmates and rank among the three top complaints.

Physical assaults by inmates on other inmates were quite common in the correctional centres. Forty-one inmates had been disciplined for assaults on other inmates in 1971, and thirty-four inmates were disciplined on a similar charge in 1972. These figures by no means indicated the actual number of beatings, because a good many of them were never reported. Inmates were informed that they could lay charges in outside court, but they rarely did.[27] Physical violence was one of the negative aspects of corridor freedom — a scheme introduced in the 1960s, which allowed inmates to come out of their cells and socialize with each other for certain periods of time. In 1975 the treatment supervisor of the Regina Correctional Centre became concerned about the amount of physical violence and threatened to restrict corridor freedom if inmates did not "clean up their act."[28]

In 1972 geographic sentencing rather than sentencing by age to the two male correctional centres was adopted. It was indicated by the 1972 Program Division's evaluation that the Prince Albert institution felt the major effect of this change. The inmate count went up and demands on some of their programs, such as the educational programs, exceeded the existing resources. There were minimal effects on operations at the Regina Correctional Centre as a result of this change. One of the positive effects experienced by this centre was that the older inmates had a stabilizing effect on the institution.[29]

Rules and Regulations

The Rules and Regulations were formulated by each Correctional Centre as had been the practise in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1973, the Rules and Regulations governing Regina Correctional Centre were:

1. Inmates shall cooperate with the administration and staff in operating and maintaining the Centre. Hence they are expected to work while in the Centre.
2. Inmates shall treat staff and fellow inmates with common decency. This means they act and speak towards them with respect for them as people.
3. Inmates shall have in their possession only authorized articles.
4. Inmates shall respect any legitimate request or order given by a staff member.
5. Inmates shall not smuggle or attempt to smuggle any articles either into or out of the institution.
6. Inmates shall respect institution property.
7. Inmates shall respect inmates' property.
8. Inmates shall respect the person of both staff and inmates. Hence attacking or threatening to attack another person within the Centre is not allowed.
9. Inmates are expected to follow the daily routine of activity as outlined from time to time by the administration.
10. Inmates shall stay within institutional boundaries unless authorized by administration or staff.
11. Inmates shall stay within assigned units, within the institution.
12. Inmates are expected to express their disagreements in an appropriate manner. If you feel you have been unjustly treated you may appeal to the Director or his designated representative or through a letter to the Minister of Welfare or any member of the Cabinet, or to an officially designated inmate grievance committee.
13. Inmates are expected to use discretion rather than violence or threat of violence in dealing with staff and inmates.
14. Inmates are expected to cooperate with staff and inmates in maintaining order in the institution.[30]

The emphasis of the above Rules and Regulations seems to be on work, decency, respect, inmate movement within the institution, nonviolence, and cooperation. Although these Rules and Regulations are not as stringent, they are reminiscent of the Rules and Regulations of the 1905-45 period. They reflect assumptions about inmates; for example that they are disrespectful, violent, and lazy. The 1973 Rules and Regulations appear to be less petty and detailed, and more reasonable than those of former times. There is less emphasis on stern discipline, strict obedience, and regimental procedure than in the pre-1945 period.

If an inmate broke any of the above Rules and Regulations he could be placed on charge and would have to appear before a disciplinary panel. The panel was made up of three representatives from the administration of the Correctional Centre. Some of the alternatives available to the discipline panel were to:

> 1. Dismiss the charge.
> 2. Warn the inmate about re-occurrence. Reprimand.
> 3. Remove a number or all privileges for a certain length of time.
> 4. Suspend or take away a certain number of days of statutory remission.
> 5. Loss of pay or billing of inmate for willful damage.
> 6. Confinement to cell.
> 7. Referral for specific problems.
> 8. Segregate the inmate from the general population for a certain length of time.
>
> If you feel that you have been unjustly treated by the discipline panel, you have the right to appeal to the Director of the Centre.[31]

The disciplinary measures stated above are quite different from those used in the 1905-1945 period. Loss of remission, loss of privilieges, and segregation are similar. However, in the 1905-1945 period the more drastic measures of hard bed, bread and water diet, dark cell, handcuffing to the bars and strait jacketing were used. Also, the 1973 regulations indicated that the inmate had an opportunity to explain why he acted in the manner he did.[32] This is different from the 1905-1945 approach when the administration had no interest in the inmate's explanation for his behaviour.

Facilities

In 1967 the new correctional centre for female offenders, Riverside Correctional Centre (later renamed Pine Grove), was completed. This new centre was a response to a need which had existed in the province for about forty years. It is interesting that the new facility was of a maximum security nature in spite of the fact that most women were serving very short sentences and were probably viewed as much less of a threat than the male prisoners. According to one former staff member, Pine Grove was never intended to be a "bastion of steel and iron bars." He felt that this contradiction served as an example of how various facilities and programs were not exactly what service personnel would have chosen, but rather were negotiated by the "powers that be" and based upon political, economic or professional considerations. After Pine Grove began operating he claimed that "various hacksaws became officially very active" to make it more suitable for the purposes intended.[33]

Pine Grove had been built during an era when corrections administrators were enamoured of the gadgets and control devices which made a secure prison. Many of these devices were never used and Pine Grove operated with almost an open door policy.[34]

During the early 1970s complaints were made about the inadequate and antiquated physical facilities at the mens' correctional centres. The facilities were expanded to relieve the serious cell block overcrowding which had existed in both jails for many years, particularly after the early 1950s. In neither institution was there adequate office space, segregation facilities for inmates, or gymnasiums. Some renovations were made at both centres; for example, in 1971 both centres built new gymnasiums.[35]

In the 1970s there was concern regarding remand facilities. It appeared that the main problem with having remands housed in the same facilities as the sentenced prisoners related primarily to security. It was felt that the remands posed a constant physical and mental threat to the staff, and that they curtailed programs because every time there was movement of remands in the cell block area the sentenced inmates were placed on lock.[36]

In 1972 the Saskatchewan government contemplated selling the men's Correctional Centre at Prince Albert to the Solicitor General Department of the federal government. This proposed sale never materialized. However, if it had, the federal government would have used it to relieve the overcrowding in the penitentiaries on the prairies.[37]

Another special issue regarding correctional facilities, which was addressed by the Corrections Branch in the 1960s, was the Northern Saskatchewan lockups. Since the 1940s northern RCMP guardrooms had been leased to the province, and inmates sentenced to short terms were accommodated in these lockups. By 1953, five guardrooms were leased to the Minister of Welfare to be used as common jails. These were located at Lac la Ronge, Stony Rapids, Cumberland House, Ile à la Crosse, and Uranium City. It was believed that housing short-term northern offenders in their own community had greater corrective value than flying them out to one of the southern correctional facilities. Imprisonment in the North was viewed as a deterrent, whereas being transported to one of the southern correctional centres was viewed as a form of holiday. There were several disadvantages to the northern lockups. One of these was the amount of time spent by police personnel in the guarding and feeding of prisoners. Inmates sentenced to northern lockups received no remission, no pay, and were not eligible for various programs such as work training or parole. In fact, no provisions were made for treatment at all because the lockups had never been designated as correctional centres. Most of the work assigned to inmates was of a housekeeping or maintenance nature. A 1969 Departmental report made several recommendations concerning northern lockups. It recommended that the short-term offenders (under thirty days) should remain in the North. The northern lockups should be designated as correctional centres and more emphasis should be placed on community-based correctional methods in the North.[38]

Inmates Rights and Privileges

During the 1960s some aspects of inmates' rights and privileges were considered. For example, inmates' access to the use of outside courts and the courts' jurisdiction over certain decisions made by corrections administrators were discussed. The main concerns were with regard to negligence of institutions and employees, legal rights of staff and inmates, and internal discipline. Legal consultation was held with the Attorney General's Department on these matters. Generally, it was concluded that although inmates did have access to outside courts, the correctional centres had certain built-in safeguards, and therefore outside courts would not be likely to overrule decisions made in the correctional centres.[39] This is the first evidence that there were some doubts about the correctional centres being able to continue operating as closed or isolated units which were not accountable to the outside world.

One area which caused some controversy in the late 1960s was that of inmate shaves and haircuts. All inmates were to receive shaves and haircuts on admission to the institution. If an inmate refused, he would be given up to two weeks in segregation in which to change his mind, and if he still refused, staff were to carry out the shave and haircut forcibly. Religious immunity to a shave and haircut would be given at the discretion of the correctional centre superintendent or treatment supervisor.[40] The matter of the inmates' use of the telephone to contact their lawyers was another area of concern. This matter was raised with the Attorney General's Department. It was concluded that inmates or their lawyers would not be able to convince a court that they should have such a right or privilege. This was felt to be an internal administrative and security matter.[41] Regarding the question of isolation, after consultation with the Attorney General's Department it was felt that there should be relatively few restrictions on its use. The use of isolation was left to the professional judgment and common sense of the director of the centre. He would have to do something drastic before prosecution would result.[42]

Thus, in the 1960s inmates were beginning to receive recognition as having some minimal rights. Issues such as the use of isolation and the use of the telephone were being considered, but from the point of view of the legal rights of corrections administrators. Perhaps this meant that administrators were becoming litigation conscious, not that they were beginning to recognize the inmate as having rights. During the 1960s offenders certainly had greater access to legal counsel through the Saskatchewan Legal Aid Plan in order to pursue such litigation.

During the early 1970s inmate rights received a fair amount of attention. It was a time period in society when many minority groups, civil rights groups, and youth groups were raising various issues regarding rights and equality. Also, many of these groups were questioning the established order and basic values of our society. Perhaps these movements affected public opinion concerning offenders and their rights. Inmate rights became an issue of interest both to outside groups and to persons who worked within the correctional system. In 1971 Mr. Don Cameron, Corrections Consultant, described some of the dynamics of the inmate privileges and rights issue. There was a movement away from rigid adherence to the regulations toward the adoption of a more common sense approach. Inmates in the 1970s were more articulate, better educated, and more conscious of their rights than inmates of the past. The inmates were often supported by the treatment and professional staff who tended to adopt an anti-establishment stance. However, the custodial staff treated each innovation as though the inmates were taking over control of the institution. Custodial staff preferred a move back to a time when rules and regulations governed every situation and all decisions were black and white. During the 1970s there was some relaxation of inmate dress requirement and of hair length requirement, and the censorship policy with regard to mail was relaxed. Outgoing mail was not censored, and incoming mail was not censored except for security-related reasons, but it was checked for contraband. Visiting privileges were extended during the 1970s to include persons other than relatives.[43]

Inmate pay increased in the 1970s. In April 1975 the following levels of pay were approved.

Level 1
60 cents per day for those individuals not working.

Level 2
$1.20 per day for those inmates who have a full-time work placement within the Correctional Centre.

Level 3
$1.50 per day for those inmates carrying out tasks which would normally require the recruitment of full-time staff if inmate help was not available.[44]

During the 1970s inmate committees were formed in the correctional centres to represent inmate concerns to the administration, to provide a line of communication to inmates from the administration, and to aid in the smooth running of the institution.[45]

In 1974 the Corrections Division established a committee to develop standards for inmate care and administration in the correctional centres. It seemed that the standards which did exist were scattered piecemeal in legislation, Minister's orders, departmental policy, institutional standing orders, or in precedent and informal practise.[46] The purpose of this committee was to develop a uniform set of standards.

The office of the Ombudsman was set up in 1972. The Ombudsman is an independent officer of the government whose function is to investigate complaints by any citizen, about the unfair or unjust acts, decisions, or omissions by government departments or agencies.[47] The office of the Ombudsman was a redress mechanism which could be used by inmates of correctional centres to voice grievances.

Inmate Disturbances

During this period, disturbances in the correctional centres included a number of hostage-taking incidents. The policy concerning hostage-taking indicated that correctional officers were not to release an inmate by virtue of a threat to another officer's life. The rationale for this policy was that if an inmate was willing to kill to obtain his freedom he would probably not hesitate to kill in the community. Also, it was felt that if one inmate was successful in obtaining his freedom in this manner others would make similar attempts.[48]

Some of the grievances voiced by inmates during this period were very similar to those heard in the 1920s and 30s. For example, Prince Albert inmates in 1972 complained about inadequate recreation; inadequate medical services; unsatisfactory sanitation; unsatisfactory food services; inappropriate censorship of mail; and inadequate inmate services.[49] Although many of these grievances are the same as those voiced by inmates back in the 1920s and 1930s, the way in which the grievances were handled by the administration of the institutions was different. The administrations of the 1920s and 1930s felt that inmates had no right to make demands for what the administrators termed luxuries because they were in jail for punishment. In the 1970s, at least some attention was given to inmate grievances by the administration. For example, in 1973 the Director of the Prince Albert Correctional Centre gave a follow-up report of action taken in response to inmate grievances at that Centre.[50] Although most of the action taken was minor, the fact that some action was taken by the corrections administrators reveals that inmate grievances were taken more seriously than they had been in the past. The fact that inmates felt strongly enough about the conditions in the correctional centres to cause disturbances, means that these conditions must have been poor. Perhaps these poor conditions were reflections of the punitive philosophy of past eras.

Correctional Staff

During this period the lack of custodial staff became particularly acute and repeated requests for more staff were made. In 1968 the Superintendent of the Regina Correctional Centre indicated in a memorandum to the Director of Corrections the inadequate custodial staffing of that institution. He stated that in a Budget Bureau recommendation in 1962, twenty-three Correctional Officer I's were required for cell block duty to cover an inmate population of between 140 and 190. However he stated that in Regina Correctional Centre there were only 29 Correctional Officer I positions to cover an inmate population of over 330.[51]

Correctional staff in the institution were primarily involved in custodial duties and concerns even though rehabilitation was supposed to be the primary function of the correctional system. For example, the orientation sheet for new custodial staff at Prince Albert Correctional Centre in 1967 did not make any reference to the role of these staff members in rehabilitative treatment or therapeutic efforts. The main issues covered were time, dress, and matters of custody. Unnecessary contact between custodial staff and inmates was discouraged. Staff were not to make telephone calls for inmates nor give them cigarettes. They were not to become involved in long conversations with any groups when inmates were on exercise or corridor freedom, because the staff's involvement would have interfered with their supervision of the rest of the inmates.[52] This illustrates the overriding emphasis on custody still existing during this period.

In order to handle riots or disturbances in the 1960s, the staff were to use reasoning with the inmates as much as possible. The correctional staff were not taught the use of armed or unarmed combat. In the case of more severe disturbances, the RCMP were called in. On occasion, the staff did use mattresses, safety shields, and tear-gas streamers. They also maintained a small arsenal of handguns, Ferald Grenades #112, and tear-gas billies and cartridges, and they planned to obtain helmets, face shields, and more safety shields.[53] It seems that the correctional centres were rather well prepared for riots during this period, but there is no documentary evidence that any occurred. This preparation was possibly an over-reaction to the sometimes violent riots that were taking place in society, particularly those involving students and blacks in the United States.

A report on custody and security was prepared by Mr. S. Shoom, Corrections Consultant, in 1969. He indicated that one problem with providing custody and security to correctional centre inmates was the heterogeneous nature of the inmate population ranging from minimum security inmates to maximum security inmates with behaviour problems. The majority required medium security. It was recommended that more riot control equipment be ordered for the correctional centres and that training in the use of tear-gas equipment be provided to staff.[54]

During this period, there is some indication of correctional staff discontent. For example, in 1973 some of the concerns expressed were: lack of control (i.e. charges not being pursued), deterioration in inmates discipline, lack of riot control training and self-defence techniques, lack of supervisory function (i.e. tendency to put the smooth running of the institution ahead of the feelings of the staff who often felt they had to subordinate themselves to the inmate population), lack of input into policy and planning by correctional staff, staff shortage, illicit drug and weapon flow among the inmates because of such things as open visiting with inadequate supervision. Correctional staff expressed resentment regarding assertions about inmate rights by outside organizations such as the Ombudsman's office, Human Rights Commission and self-help groups. Correctional staff felt that there was no consideration for their own rights.[55] It would seem that staff were reacting to some of the changes which had been made regarding inmate rights and the humanitarian treatment of inmates. Perhaps the latter had been a response to concerns that staff were not held accountable for their behaviour. Examples of this lack of accountability were evident in the 1905-1945 period. Staff felt that some of the supposed humanitarian changes made their work more difficult. For example, it would seem that the extension of visiting privileges increased the flow of contraband articles such as weapons and drugs to the inmate population.

Few changes were made in the staff training program after its inception in 1953. However, during this period some innovations were implemented in this field. For example, in 1969 the training program was consolidated into a two-week package each year for three years and it was held at the Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences in Saskatoon.[56]

The new staff training program attempted to help staff do their work in a less stressful manner and the program was staff-oriented rather than inmate-oriented. Staff training was developed into integrated common blocks of classes with some more specialized sessions for particular groups.[57]

Crime and Criminals

Social workers and persons with a social science background were assuming positions in Corrections. This trend contrasted with the pre-1945 situation in which military or semi-military personnel were recruited. As already noted, this was a period in which the basic values of society were challenged by many groups and social problems came to the fore.

In Corrections, attention began to be paid to the number of offenders who were incarcerated as a result of poverty or a low economic position in society. For example, in 1965-66 42% of offenders in the men's provincial correctional centres were there for non-payment of fines for liquor offences and 60% were under sentence for offences which had the option of a fine. In the women's institution, more than 75% were imprisoned for non-payment of fines.[58] Also, more young adult inmates were coming into the correctional system during this period.[59]

Young drug offenders, Indian and Metis offenders, and mentally or emotionally disturbed offenders were common during this period. Some members of these groups posed difficult treatment and management problems.

The correctional centres had to provide both custody and treatment programs for a very heterogeneous population of inmates. The population of the centres included remands, penitentiary inmates awaiting appeal, recalcitrant and hard-core sentenced inmates, short-term inmates, and those amenable to treatment. Because of the security problems of some of these inmates, programming for the other, more amenable, inmates was thwarted.

Another problem was the rising number of persons on remand in the provincial correctional centres. Some staff thought that the rise in remands coincided with the implementation of the Saskatchewan Legal Aid Plan in the 1960s. Two of the many problems being encountered in the Regina Correctional Centre because of the high remand count were a lack of proper accommodation for inmates and a shortage of custodial staff. The excessive amount of time that remands had to spend in their cells (22 hours per day) had resulted in several sit-down strikes by remand inmates. Because of the shortage of custodial staff in the remand unit disturbances occurred, several escapes had taken place, and a number of others were rumoured to have been planned. During one of these disturbances remand inmates stated a number of grievances. These were: internal problems — cold food, not enough tobacco, damp laundered clothing and bedding; lack of adequate programming and staff — excessive time spent in their cells, lack of contact with staff to get messages in and out; and the upsetting behaviour of sentenced inmates who were placed in the remand unit because they had presented discipline problems in the cell block.[60]

The emotionally disturbed offender and the mentally retarded offender came to be more common in the jails in the 1960s. In the 1950s the Department of Health (Psychiatric Services) began emptying the mental hospitals in the province and redefined whom they would serve. As a result of this move, quite a number of the people who would formerly have been dealt with by psychiatric services were filtering into the correctional centres. A number of other types of offenders, whose main problem was not criminal were also being placed in correctional facilities. One such type was the mentally retarded person who had committed a criminal act, often at the instigation of other people. Another was the alcoholic whose main problem was alcoholism and not criminality. Work was done with various agencies, and society in general, to raise the level of awareness of these kinds of issues.[61] These problems, however, are still very much a part of the present correctional system just as they were in the earlier periods.

A number of suicides occurred in the jails in the early 1970s and received a fair amount of publicity, in contrast with the pre-1945 period. This may have been because of the development of a more humanitarian concern for prisoners, or the greater visibility of the correctional system in the 1970s.

Dealing with emotionally disturbed persons in the correctional system was a problem during this period. Inmates who attempted to commit suicide were often put into solitary confinement, primarily for their own safety. They were often stripped of their clothing and bedding or other articles which they might use in another suicide attempt. *The Carillon* (University of Regina student newspaper) vividly described the circumstances in which suicidal inmates at Regina Correctional Centre found themselves.

> He [the inmate] was stripped of all his clothing and put in the hole. David was placed in a concrete cubicle at the very end of a long basement corridor. He had no clothes to cover his nakedness, nothing to sleep on other than the cold concrete floor; he was not allowed to smoke or talk to any of his friends, he was not told how long he was to be there. He was not given any indication of what he could do to earn his way out. In his own mind he must have felt that he was going to be kept in there for an eternity. Sometime during the first two days he managed to pull a blanket through the bars. On the evening of the fourth day he was found dead with the blanket tied around his neck.[62]

In the fall of 1970 an interdepartmental Committee was established to review services to emotionally disturbed inmates. The Committee was made up of representatives from the Departments of Public

Health, and Social Services. Each department felt that the other should be dealing with the problem.[63]

The Committee reported that a number of factors contributed to the problems of emotionally disturbed offenders in the correctional system. One of these was a general increase in demand for psychiatric services, possibly due to the stresses in society at that time. There was a marked increase in emotional problems among inmates, partly due to the ingestion of drugs.[64]

Psychiatric Services tended to offer only short-term care. Acute psychiatric cases were taken from the correctional centres to a psychiatric facility, or a psychiatrist would come to the centre. The inmates would stay at the psychiatric facility only a short time and then be brought back to the correctional centre. Inmates requiring long-term psychiatric care, but who did not require custody, were transferred to the Weyburn or North Battleford Mental Hospital. Character disorders, psychopaths, sociopaths, and other chronic psychiatric cases who did not readily respond to treatment remained at the correctional centres and received no psychiatric attention. These persons were often kept in segregation for long periods of time for their own protection, or the protection of other inmates. Alcoholics and drug offenders were usually treated on an out-patient basis by psychiatric facilities.[65] The debate regarding psychiatric services for inmates of the correctional centres involved three main aspects. First, Psychiatric Services did not want to provide the level of security necessary to treat these individuals, and Corrections felt that they could not provide appropriate treatment in an institution that was almost totally oriented towards custody and security. Second, there was a desire not to criminalize mental illness if, in fact, mental illness was the major problem. Third, Psychiatric Services felt that if the main problem was custody then they should not be involved.[66]

It appears that prior to the 1950s the mental health facilities were more accessible for use by the jails. For example, during 1930-1931 twenty inmates were transferred from the jails to the mental hospital. The daily average in the jails was 237. The hospitals were custody oriented prior to the 1950s and could cope with the mentally disordered offender.

In the early 1970s consideration was given to the establishment of a special detention unit for the treatment of emotionally disturbed offenders at the Regina Correctional Centre. Joint meetings had been held between Corrections and the Psychiatric Services Branch since the late 1960s with the objective of developing a dynamic mental health program for all inmates of the Provincial Correctional Centres.[67] The new Detention and Care Unit at the Regina Centre was, however, almost entirely custody and security oriented. Dr. Chapman, who was to provide psychiatric services to the Unit, indicated that the Unit appeared to be a mere euphemism for a place of solitary confinement. This type of rhetoric is quite common in the correctional system and often serves to cloak the true state of affairs. The dilemma of security and confinement versus treatment is quite evident. Dr. Chapman stated that he

> would emphasize that the present structure and staff position will not allow anything but a mere token representation of a Unit for disturbed offenders .... Why bother about having psychiatric services with modern medication regimes and keep what amounts to last century's padded cells in a Unit of this kind.[68]

It is noteworthy that Psychiatric Services did little to attempt to provide any better services than corrections.

Planning for a Regional Medical Centre to serve inmates, particularly federal inmates who required psychiatric care, had commenced in the mid-1960s. The Centre, located on the grounds of the University of Saskatchewan, provides services for the federal and provincial systems of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Turning to crimes, the nature of offences for which persons were confined to correctional centres from 1969-1975 are illustrated in Tables 12 and 13. There is no documentation available regarding the nature of offences in the 1967-1969 period. As during the previous periods, the statistics for the 1969-1975 period appear to reflect crimes of sentenced inmates.

From Tables 12 and 13 it would appear that the largest categories of offences for both males and females are federal offences not against the person. The most common offences for males appear to be theft, offences against the Liquor Act, the Vehicles Act, and driving offences. Similarly, for females the most common offences are the offences against the Liquor Act, theft, and offences against the Vehicles Act. A large proportion of offences against the Vehicles Act and driving offences are liquor-related. Thus, liquor-related offences constitute a high proportion of offences for which individuals are incarcerated.

An increasing number of Indian and Metis people were incarcerated in the correctional centres between 1968 and 1975. Tables 14 and 15 indicate the number of Indian and Metis males and the number of Indian and Metis females incarcerated during this period.

Table 14 indicates that in excess of 50% of the population of the male correctional centres was made up of Indians and Metis. Table 15 reveals that in excess of 85% of the population of the female correctional centres was made up of Indian and Metis. These statistics appear extraordinarily high when compared with the pre-1945 statistics. Prior to 1945 Indian and half-breed males generally made up about 5% of the male incarcerated population while Indian and half-breed females generally made up about 20% of the female prison population.

TABLE 12

OFFENCES COMMITTED BY MALES
1969-75

Type of Offence	1969-70		1971-72		1972-73		1973-74		1974-75	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Municipal/Provincial Offences										
Liquor Act	956	13.0	1,213	13.4	1,480	15.6	1,472	14.8	1,369	13.0
Vehicles Act	1,041	14.2	1,300	14.4	1,256	13.2	1,494	15.0	1,502	14.2
Other	111	1.5	158	1.7	172	1.8	224	2.3	245	2.3
Federal Offences:										
Not Against Person										
Theft, B & E etc.	2,019	27.5	2,022	22.3	2,032	21.4	1,875	18.8	2,109	19.9
Fraud & Related Offences	966	13.2	787	8.7	732	7.7	1,110	11.1	945	9.0
Vagrancy & Related Offences	98	1.3	131	1.5	64	.7	19	.2	24	.2
Narcotics & Related Offences	60	.8	198	2.2	208	2.2	269	2.7	284	2.7
Escapes, Bail-Jumping Etc.	73	1.0	354	3.9	531	5.6	729	7.3	927	8.7
Driving Offences	652	8.9	1,199	13.2	1,373	14.5	1,214	12.2	1,495	14.1
Weapons	44	.6	30	.3	49	.5	50	.5	57	.5
Disturbance	250	3.4	322	3.6	282	3.0	287	2.9	248	2.3
Damage	198	2.7	183	2.0	210	2.2	99	1.0	123	1.2
Conspiracies, Counselling	52	.7	59	.7	66	.7	75	.8	48	.5
Counterfeiting, Revenue Offences, etc.	7	.1	4	.04	4	.04	2	.02	2	.02
Interference with Police	58	.8	63	.7	66	.7	62	.6	77	.7
Against Administration of Justice	25	.3	23	.3	32	.3	33	.3	56	.5
Miscellaneous	69	.9	135	1.5	124	1.3	173	1.7	229	2.2
Indian Act	67	.9	101	1.1	92	1.1	78	.8	73	.7
Against Person										
Assault and Related Offences	407	5.6	577	6.4	503	5.3	464	4.7	542	5.1
Robbery	81	1.1	94	1.0	84	.9	78	.8	81	.8
Wounding	22	.3	21	.2	21	.2	33	.3	28	.3
Rape	20	.2	13	.1	24	.3	20	.2	14	.1
Indecent Assault	25	.3	33	.4	49	.5	39	.4	33	.3
Kidnapping & Abduction	10	.1	12	.1	5	.05	7	.07	5	.05
Homicide	20	.2	18	.2	20	.2	20	.2	14	.1
Miscellaneous	5	.07	8	.1	4	.04	50	.5	71	.8
Total	7,336		9,058		9,483		9,976		10,601	

Source: *Provincial Correctional Centres Inmate Statistical Reports, 1969-75*, Planning and Evaluation Branch, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services.

TABLE 13

OFFENCES COMMITTED BY FEMALES
1969-75

Type of Offence	1969-70 No.	1969-70 %	1971-72 No.	1971-72 %	1972-73 No.	1972-73 %	1973-74 No.	1973-74 %	1974-75 No.	1974-75 %
Municipal/Provincial Offences										
Liquor Act	172	34.3	193	23.7	216	28.3	186	23.9	197	22.8
Vehicles Act	32	6.4	82	10.1	92	12.1	97	12.6	91	10.5
Other	10	2.0	100	12.3	69	9.0	81	10.4	81	9.4
Federal Offences:										
Not Against the Person										
Theft, B & E etc.	62	12.4	92	11.3	94	12.3	86	11.0	127	14.7
Fraud & Related Offences	67	13.3	47	5.8	50	6.6	34	4.7	80	9.3
Vagrancy & Related Offences	7	1.4	3	.4	2	.3	—	—	—	—
Narcotics & Related Offences	—	—	6	.7	5	.7	9	1.2	8	.9
Escapes, Bail-Jumping, etc.	5	1.0	47	5.8	47	6.2	79	10.1	46	5.3
Driving Offences	14	2.8	23	2.8	28	3.7	53	6.8	66	7.6
Weapons	—	—	2	.3	2	.3	1	.1	2	.2
Disturbance	74	14.7	106	13.0	53	6.9	49	6.3	49	5.7
Damage	16	3.2	29	3.6	26	3.4	20	2.6	12	1.4
Conspiracies, Counselling	2	.4	2	.3	4	.5	4	.5	—	—
Counterfeiting, Revenue Offences, etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Interference with Police	2	.4	4	.5	7	.9	5	.6	4	.5
Against Administration of Justice	1	.2	2	.3	4	.5	2	.3	46	5.3
Miscellaneous	3	.6	2	.3	6	.8	23	3.0	17	2.0
Indian Act	—	—	12	1.5	14	1.8	10	1.3	6	.7
Against the Person										
Assault and Related Offences	20	4.0	51	6.3	30	3.9	32	4.1	26	3.0
Robbery	2	.4	7	.9	6	.8	2	.3	3	.4
Wounding	3	.6	3	.4	2	.3	2	.3	3	.4
Rape	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indecent Assault	2	.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kidnapping & Abduction	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Homicide	6	1.2	1	.1	6	.8	4	.5	—	—
Miscellaneous	2	.4	2	.3	—	—	—	—	2	.2
Total	502		816		763		779		866	

Source: See Table 12.

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF INDIAN/METIS MALE
ADMISSIONS TO THE JAILS
1968-75

Racial Group	1968-69		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72		1972-73		1973-74		1974-75	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indian/Metis	2,457	52.2	2,047	51.2	2,518	56.5	3,049	61.4	3,029	66.0	2,793	66.2	2,925	66.8
Other	2,252	47.8	1,950	48.8	1,935	43.5	1,919	38.6	1,557	34.0	1,425	33.8	1,454	33.2
Total Admissions	4,709		3,997		4,453		4,968		4,586		4,218		4,379	

Source: See Table 12.

TABLE 15

NUMBER OF INDIAN/METIS FEMALE
ADMISSIONS TO THE JAILS
1968-75

Racial Group	1968-69		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72		1972-73		1973-74		1974-75	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indian/Metis	437	92.0	297	86.8	393	89.3	519	92.7	430	91.5	356	87.9	369	89.6
Other	40	8.0	45	13.2	47	10.7	41	7.3	40	8.5	49	12.1	43	10.4
Total Admissions	477		342		440		560		470		405		412	

Source: See Table 12.

When the racial composition of male admissions to the correctional centres is compared with the racial composition of the general population over the age of 15 years, it becomes apparent that the proportion of Indian and Metis admissions is much higher than for other racial categories. Tables 16 and 17 give the proportion of male and female Indian and Metis admissions to the correctional centres compared with the racial composition of the general population over 15 years of age.

No official statistics have been compiled on the size of the Metis population and there are no accurate ways of estimating it. For the purposes of this research the Treaty Indian population has been doubled. Therefore, it has been assumed that the non-Treaty native population is equal in size to the Treaty Indian population and that both cohorts share the same age and sex characteristics.

Table 16 indicates that the rate of Indian and Metis female admissions is much higher than the rate of admissions of females of other racial origins. Comparisons of Table 16 and 17 reveal that the rate of Indian and Metis male admissions is much higher than the rate of female Indian and Metis admissions to the jails. It should be noted that the rates of Indian and Metis admissions to the jails has increased dramatically since the pre-1945 period while the rates of admissions of

TABLE 16

RATIO OF MALES SENTENCED TO THE JAILS TO MALES (16 YEARS AND OVER) IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

Racial Group	1968-69	1969-70	1070-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
Indian/Metis	1:6.8	1:8.7	1:7.1	1:6.3	1:6.4	1:7.2	1:6.9
Other	1:137.5	1:158.8	1:160.1	1:161.4	1:199.0	1:223.3	1:219.0

Source: *Census of Canada* 1971 and 1976. Population statistics for treaty Indians from Program Reference Centre, Program Services Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Metis population figures not available. See W.B. Fritz, "Estimating the Size of the Metis Population in Saskatchewan," Psychiatric Research Division, Saskatchewan Hospital, North Battleford.

TABLE 17

RATIO OF FEMALES SENTENCED TO THE JAILS TO FEMALES (16 YEARS AND OVER) IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

Racial Group	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
Indian/Metis	1:35.7	1:56.6	1:42.7	1:35.5	1:42.9	1:59.1	1:57.0
Other	1:7285.9	1:6476.4	1:6200.8	1:7108.2	1:7285.9	1:6407.5	1:7301.5

Source: See Table 16.

other racial categories has tended to remain somewhat similar for males and has drastically decreased for females. This marked increase in incarceration of Indian and Metis people may be due to a number of factors such as: their changed lifestyle — increased access to alcohol, the rural-urban migration; increased police surveillance and efficiency; and changes in legislation.

Role of the Community in Corrections

During the late 60s and early 70s volunteers and self-help groups began to play an active role in correctional services. The Corrections Division played an advisory role and, in some cases, provided financial assistance to these groups. This was necessary in order for the correctional system to maintain control over these outside groups, to integrate their services with existing correctional programs, and to prevent disruption of the smooth functioning of the system.[69]

During the late 1960s the Indian and Metis Department provided some counselling to Indian and Metis inmates prior to their discharge. Some use of volunteer teachers was initiated at the Regina Centre. Pre-release planning was conducted by various community agencies during the late 1960s. The pre-release planning for inmates was carried on in cooperation with the John Howard Society, Canada Manpower, the Saskatchewan Indian and Metis Department, the Salvation Army, Alcoholics Anonymous, and National Parole.[70]

The John Howard Society had been one of the outside agencies to which the Corrections Department gave an annual grant. In the early 1970s there was some concern within the John Howard Society regarding its role because the parole function of the Society was dominating the organization, and a major portion of the Society's funds were coming from government. It was felt that the Society no longer played the role of conscience to the government because they were too concerned about the possibility of offending their benefactors.[71] Because of the increase in the amount of funding, particularly from the provincial government, it began to appear that the Society had become an appendage of government correctional services.

In 1975 the funding sources for the John Howard Society were: United Appeal and private donations — 24%; local and provincial government — 55%; federal government — 21%. The United Appeal funding was used to support general services, public education, and legal and penal reforms. The provincial funding was utilized to support institutional services to provincial facilities, diversionary efforts, services to victims, and the maintenance of the provincial office and board. The federal funding was used to provide institutional services to the penitentiary, parole supervision, and related activities.[72]

During this period a number of preventive and community-based

Criminal Justice Services were established to meet the needs of native offenders. Among these were the Family Services Project, implemented in 1974, the Fine Option Program which commenced in 1975, the Indian Probation Officer Project (1974), the Native Project Society (1972), and the Native Court Worker Program (1973). The provincial government provided consultative and financial support to some of the native projects. Financial support was often given on a contractual or a fee-for-service basis.

During the 1970s, racial tensions in the correctional centres increased as a result of a number of factors. One of these was that natives were becoming more conscious of racial discrimination and more assertive in their relations with non-native persons. Another factor was that the numbers of incarcerated natives had increased significantly during the 1960s and 1970s. Racial tensions and conflicts, which had always existed in Saskatchewan's society, became more acute as natives' awareness of their rights and their position in society increased.

During the 1960s several attempts were made to deal with those offenders who were of Indian and Metis ancestry. In 1968 a native counselling project was begun at the Regina Correctional Centre with one staff member who was employed as a group worker and was called an Indian and Metis Counsellor. He was to assist native peoples in adjusting to the Centre and to provide counselling about their release plans. In 1968 the Director of the Regina Correctional Centre, Mr. S. Shoom, expressed enthusiasm about this program, stating that it was the first of its kind in Canada. By March 1969 this one-man counselling project was already experiencing severe problems. The Counsellor took the position that institutional staff discriminated against persons of Indian ancestry and tried to suppress them. He also felt that agencies such as National Parole, the John Howard Society, and Indian Affairs were discriminating against Indians. He viewed discrimination as a serious problem because of its potential influence on racial hostility which already existed in the institution.[73]

The direct involvement of natives in policy planning and the delivery of services in the Adult Corrections area began in the late 1960s and gained momentum in the 1970s. Native involvement was viewed as important by Corrections Division staff, probably because of the constantly increasing numbers of native offenders coming into the system, and the feeling that the present programs and personnel could not deal effectively with this group. Native groups were becoming more assertive and vocal in demanding solutions to the problems plaguing native people. Most of the native programs funded by government were administered by either the Department of Social Services or the Attorney General's Department and the question of who should control these services was now raised. The areas of involvement which natives were entering had formerly been staffed by professionals and the introduction of untrained personnel, particularly natives, made the professionals uneasy. It is interesting that, beginning in the pre-1945 period, the trend was for volunteers to be replaced by professionals. This trend continued through the 1950s and early 1960s but it reversed itself during the late 1960s and 1970s. In each case the change was intended to increase the effectiveness of the services provided. It would appear that neither move was very effective in reducing recidivism or crime. During this period there was a preoccupation with recidivist rates and little consideration of other positive aspects of various programs.

Community-Oriented Correctional Programs

Numerous community-oriented correctional programs emerged during this period. The Family Therapy Program, for example, attempted to keep the offender in touch with the community and particularly his own family. Family therapy at the Regina Correctional Centre began as a pilot project in 1967. A cottage was constructed on the Centre's property and an inmate's family could spend time there with him. A qualified social worker was recruited to implement and supervise the program, the aim of which was "to assist in the rehabilitation of the inmate by providing intensive counselling services to the family as a unit." In 1969 a family therapy unit was constructed at Prince Albert. One of the most important functions of family therapy was to strengthen family ties and keep the family united.[74]

Taken from Annual Report, Dept. of Social Services, 1973

Family Therapy Duplex, Regina Jail.

In 1967 an article appeared in the Regina *Leader Post* which indicated enthusiastic support for family therapy by religious and community leaders, and politicians. The saving in tax dollars and the progressiveness of the move were emphasized. Only the police chief doubted the wisdom of the program. He was skeptical of the success of programs which lavished kindness on prisoners, and stated that there was no evidence that any such programs were actually rehabilitating prisoners.[75] This statement suggests the punitive attitude of past eras was still evident but now it appeared in combination with the rehabilitation concept.

It is said that Mr. Ross Thatcher, premier of Saskatchewan at that time, was one of the prime movers behind the family therapy program. He had come in contact with similar programs on a trip to Europe and felt that the idea was good because such programs provided an opportunity for the relief of sexual frustrations. However, the social workers who implemented the programs set it in a more noble context.[76]

The family therapist claimed that family therapy was "part of the treatment program and thus treatment must be given priority over recreational visiting. In this context we consider conjugal visiting treatment rather than recreation and cause should be shown that it will be of benefit to the inmate."[77] However, the unit and the family therapist were viewed by some inmates and staff as serving a different function. It has been alleged that the family therapist was often referred to as a jail pimp. The program itself was referred to as the "tail in jail" program.

In a news article, an ex-inmate of the Regina Correctional Centre describes his feelings about using the family therapy unit:

> The real problem is that everyone else in the jail knows that you're going out there for one thing only. When you leave, the others shout, 'Give her one for me,' which isn't very pleasant when it's your wife they're talking about . . . . The thing I hated most was the feeling that it had all been programmed — that you're there to use one another. There's so little emotion.

The situation was unnatural, although most couples were pleased to see each other in some privacy. Another couple who had used the unit complained that there was nothing to do there except "screw and watch T.V." The duplex was dirty, food was bad, and the jail, which was in direct view of the duplex, presented a depressing sight.[78]

Because of some of these problems, the Temporary Absence program began to be used more than the Family Therapy program for conjugal visits.

During the late 1960s temporary absences were introduced into the correctional system. This program allowed inmates to be absent from the correctional centre with the Director's consent for an unlimited period of time for medical reasons, and a period not exceeding fifteen days for humanitarian reasons or to assist in the rehabilitation of the prisoner. This provision was a result of amendments to the Prisons and Reformatories Act.[79]

The Temporary Absence program became increasingly popular in the 1970s. Each institution was encouraged to develop its own program policy within the limits of the legislation,[80] and each institution handled temporary absences differently. The Temporary Absence program was used increasingly in place of the Provincial Parole authority.[81]

In July of 1972, as a result of an amendment to the Criminal Code, provision was made for intermittent sentencing when the sentence did not exceed 90 days. Intermittent sentencing was described as weekend jail, and it was used as a kind of shock therapy.[82] Also, intermittent sentencing could be viewed as another way to keep the offender in contact with the community. He would be less likely to lose his job, or contact with his family or friends, given this type of sentence.

A Wilderness Challenge Program was implemented from the Regina Correctional Centre in the summer of 1975. This program was designed to divert some first time offenders from the institution. The program was based on similar programs such as Boulder Bay in British Columbia, Homeward Bound in Massachusetts, and Dare, an Ontario program.[83] The activities involved rigorous outdoor training. Some of the activities were canoeing, backpacking, swimming, bush survival, and shelter building. The theory behind the program was that tackling the challenge of living in unfamiliar bush surroundings would give the inmates a positive attitude about their ability to tackle their own problems.[84] However, the real test of the program's success would be evident when the young men were back on the street; to date, these results are not known.

The Fine Option Program was intended to keep the offender in the community rather than incarcerating him. The Fine Option Program became operational in January 1975. It was a program which allowed persons who were unable to pay their fine, to work at voluntary community projects instead. The program was available for persons who were convicted of criminal code, provincial, and municipal offences. The program was administered by such organizations as service clubs, church groups, native band councils, and inmate self-help groups. This program was created in response to the high proportion of offenders incarcerated because they could not, or would not pay their fine. In 1972-73 for example, 2,276 persons were sent to jail because they could not pay their fines. Fifty per cent of all males and 70.3% of all female admissions were for non-payment of fines.[85]

One short-lived program of the Corrections Department in the 1970s was the FLEX (Farm Life Experience) Program. In the fall of 1974 FLEX began as a pilot project out of the Prince Albert Correctional Centre. The basic concept of this program was that inmates would be rehabilitated by being placed with farm families.[86] Again the basic idea was to rehabilitate the offender in the community.

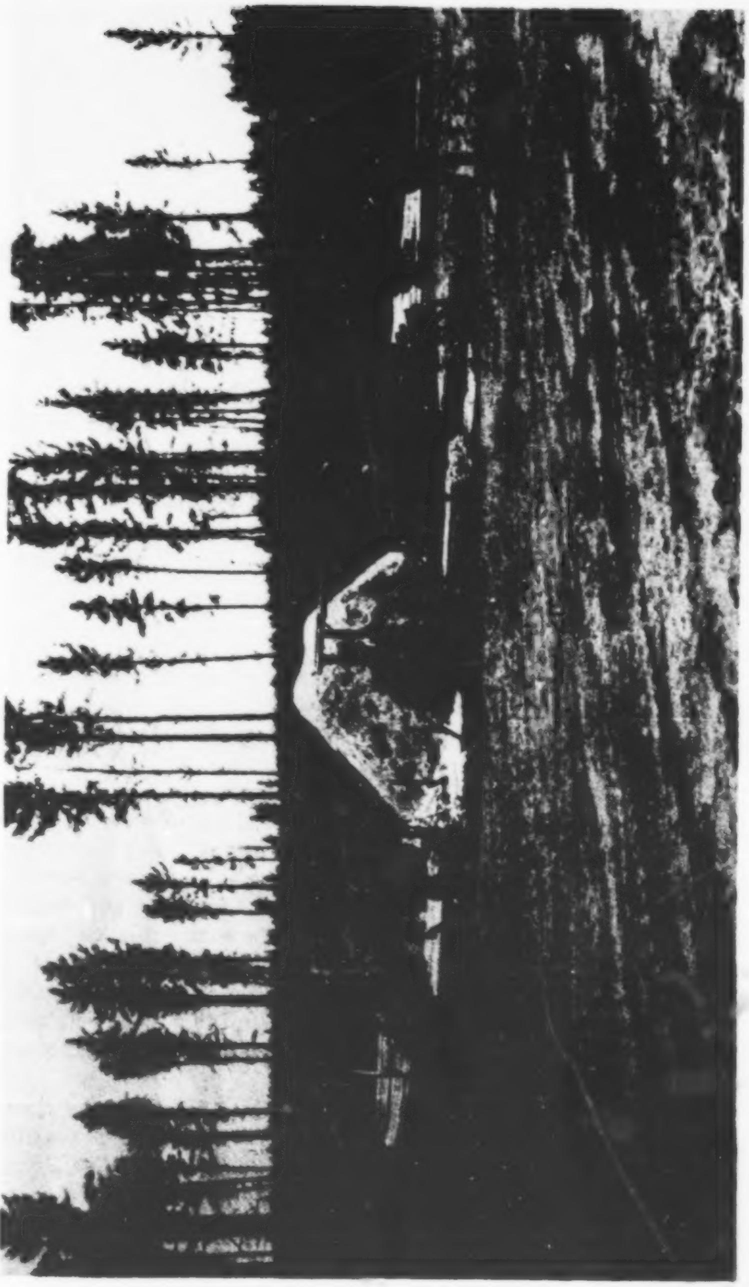
Work Camps

Work camps had been one of the original programs designed as an alternative to having inmates spend their entire sentence in jail. The popularity of work camps had reached its peak in the late 1950s and early 1960s; by 1970 it had declined. White Gull Camp was the only camp operating out of Prince Albert Men's Correctional Centre. The Watrous Camp was discontinued and an attempt was made to develop urban community work projects on an experimental basis. Camps continued at Buffalo Pound and Kenosee Lake.[87]

In 1971 the Program's Division study of work camps recommended that the Forest Harvesting Camp at White Gull be discontinued. The staff of the Prince Albert Correctional Centre were not prepared to accept this recommendation and proposed that the camp operate on a work training basis.[88] A 1973 evaluation of the White Gull Camp found that inmates did not benefit from the camp in terms of their own rehabilitation as it had been hoped by Corrections administrators. The inmates had been attracted to the program to meet short-term goals and they felt that the experience would not have much impact on their social attitudes or previous patterns of life. One of the main objectives

Courtesy of Mr. Russ Cross

Aerial view of White Gull Camp in the 1970s.



Inmates at White Gull Camp in the 1970s.

Courtesy of Mr. Russ Cross

of the inmates was monetary gain, although other factors were also important.[89]

Work camps had never really developed beyond the experimental stages in Saskatchewan. They had never achieved official recognition in terms of financial support, conceptual development, or integration with other programs at the correctional centres. The staff often had to improvise programs and facilities and try to reduce costs, but they received limited recognition for their efforts. It was difficult to get staff interested in the camp program. There were camp staff morale problems due to the isolation, low production records of the camps, makeshift facilities, little support from the institution or department, separation from families, and insufficient salary incentive.[90]

In August 1973 the program at White Gull was altered. The main emphasis was moved from production to training.

Little evidence is available on public reaction to the camp program. However, in 1974 there were some problems with the Kenosee Lake Camp. Residents of the area were concerned about having inmates in the vicinity. They were anxious about the number of break-ins (usually involving the theft of liquor) and they were concerned about inmates wandering around after dark, unsupervised.[91]

Work Training

As early as 1960, there was an experimental day parole program at Regina Correctional Centre. Some inmates could go into the community to work during the day and would return to the institution in the evening.[92] The 1967 Corrections Act provided for Work Training and embodied the concept of day parole for employment purposes. In the beginning, inmates on the work training program would go out into the community, usually to work or attend an educational program, and would return to the institution in the evenings. As with most other new programs, candidates for work training were handpicked. Inmates with alcohol or drug problems were excluded. Also, inmates convicted of false pretences were excluded as bad risks. The first offender and accidental offender, who were considered good custodial risks, were prime candidates. It was felt that these selection criteria were valid because work training was viewed as a privilege, not a right.[93]

There were some problems associated with housing the work training inmates in the correctional centres. One problem was the pressure on these inmates to smuggle contraband into the Centre. There was particular concern about the smuggling of drugs such as LSD and marijuana. There was an added burden on the custodial staff, who were required to search the work training inmates each day on their return from the community. The work training analyst suggested that the work training inmates should be housed separately.[94]

The work training program at the Prince Albert Correctional Centre prompted the first formal program evaluation in December of 1968. Inmates, staff, and community, it was found, approved of the program. Work-training was still rather ill-defined. The evaluators tried to find out how inmates involved in the work training program felt about it. They found that inmates saw the benefits of work training in a practical sense, as opposed to the psychological sense which was often stressed by traditional day parole theories. That is, inmates saw the program as an opportunity to make money in order to pay debts, purchase items, and satisfy other financial concerns, as opposed to viewing it as an opportunity for behavioural change or gaining insights into problems. Inmates were generally agreeable to the admission criteria of the program and also to the idea that in many cases, work training was a result of good institutional conduct. This attitude is not surprising. Up to that time, inmates had had little or no voice in defining correctional policy, and the privilege system (receiving privileges for good behaviour) had been firmly established.

It was found that inmates felt pressures from fellow inmates who wanted contraband and from some custodial staff whose work load was increased because of the Work Training Program. Inmates were frustrated by their lack of status in the institution during the night as opposed to their status in the community during the day. They experienced some feelings of inferiority and insecurity in their day placements because of their inmate status. There appeared to be a tendency for inmates to move to another job or another city after their discharge.[95]

The evaluation of an inmate's perception of and feelings towards this program is interesting.It is one of the first pieces of evidence to suggest that inmates' views were actually taken into account. Although the inmate's role in his own rehabilitation was stressed by the 1946 Penal Commission and recognized throughout the 1950s and 1960s as important, it was apparently not taken seriously during that time. Dr. Gordon Russon, commenting on this concept, stated that:

> It is at times difficult to identify any definite function pertinent to the client, except that by implication his recovery or rehabilitation is the object of everyone else's effort. . . . With such an unbalanced focus on techniques rather than on the function of the client we run the risk of drifting into a push-button concept of rehabilitation which can hardly be expected to achieve any positive results.[96]

This attitude was particularly characteristic of the 1950s and early 1960s when decisions concerning treatment were made by the experts or treatment personnel, with no input from inmates and custodial staff.

The December 1968 Work Training Evaluation stated that Glasser's reality therapy, with its emphasis on planning, responsibility, commitment, problem solving, and staff involvement, was being used. It noted that institutional staff were least familiar or comfortable dealing with the community which was an important element of the program. The evaluators indicated that employers' responses to the work training program were quite good. Most work obtained for the inmates was with the construction industries or of an unskilled nature. The establishing of the work training program in Prince Albert had been low key and only informal publicizing was done. The police had been informed of the program and contact had been made with some prospective employers. The evaluators indicated that, in future, service clubs and other potential employers would be canvassed. Some of the problems associated with work training, which were cited by the evaluators were: confusion as to the role of custodial staff and work training staff; conflict between regular institutional routines and work training; definition of the status of the trainee in the institution; and prompt identification of potential work trainees amongst the the short-term population.[97]

The Work Training Program was 50% cost-shared with the federal government through Vocational Rehabilitation for Disabled Persons. During the first year of operation only 12 participants out of 101 did not complete their work training placement successfully. Almost every failure was associated with the consumption of alcohol. The program was headed by a director of Work Training and had a work training analyst and vocational rehabilitation worker in each male correctional centre. The existing staff at the women's centre handled the program. The work training analyst was primarily responsible for screening the applicants. The vocational rehabilitation worker's primary role was to confirm proposed work or training placements. The inmate's request was eventually brought before a case conference consisting of the work training analyst, the vocational rehabilitation worker, the treatment supervisor, a representative of National Parole Service, the director of Work Training, and representatives from other agencies involved with the case.[98]

The earnings of the inmate were deposited in his institutional account. He had to pay room and board at the institution. He could also withdraw money from his account for clothing, transportation, spending money, or for support of dependents.[99]

The Work Training Program expanded and became a more established program within the correctional system during the 1970s. In the early 1970s the first work training residence was located within an urban community; that was in Regina.

Fairly elaborate rules of conduct and deportment for work trainees were developed by the residences. They were intended to

Taken from Annual Report, Dept. of Social Services, 1973

Community Training Residence, Regina.

control the movement and activity of the work trainees closely, both inside and outside the residences. Privileges for work trainees consisted of a system of five levels of passes into the community. Initially the vocational rehabilitation officer had made all employment arrangements for work trainees, but as the program progressed the employers demonstrated their willingness to hire inmates who were then able to seek their own employment.[100]

The selection criteria for participation in the Work Training Program was flexible. The hard and fast rule of the program, as stated by a 1975 work training evaluation, was that residents should not remain in the program for more than three months. There was also a consensus that violent offenders or those who might present a threat to the community should not be involved in the program. Short-term inmates were excluded from the program primarily because of administrative inconvenience. Selection panels were generally held once a week for Regina and Prince Albert and less often for Saskatoon and North Battleford. The panels varied in membership and were generally quite large. The other selection criteria for work training were situational and depended upon availability of employment, space in the residence, and the mix of personalities in the residence.[101]

Residences were set up in the city of Prince Albert in 1971, and in Saskatoon in 1972; a second residence was set up in Regina in 1973 and one in North Battleford in 1974.[102]

A 1975 evaluation of the training residences pointed to a number of problems inherent in the Work Training Program. The program focused heavily on work and this presented a number of limitations because it was dependent on a buoyant economy, the number of offenders who could be absorbed into any one community, and the seasonal nature of the work which most offenders were able to obtain. The use of leisure time also presented some problems. The five-level pass system tended to detract from individualized programming, reduced the emphasis on group activity, and presented a problem for out-of-town work trainees because there was little to do in the community and they had no one to visit. Because the passes were difficult to supervise, violations of the Work Training rules and even criminal behaviour would often result. Counselling the residents (particularly about personal problems) was supposed to be an important part of the program. However, most counselling centred on jobs and money. Because of staff rotation in the residence, and the large amount of time spent by the trainees at work or on passes, staff did not have consistent or long-term involvement with residents. So they were unable to pinpoint the work trainees' personal problems.[103]

Staffing of residences was a problem. A high turnover of staff had occurred since the inception of the program. A number of reasons for this were specified by the 1975 evaluation: burnout (too many hours of work, pressures, anxieties, role demands), inappropriate use of senior staff in basic coverage, poor salary (especially compared with Correction Officer I's), not enough remuneration for sleep-in work, undefined hours, separation from family, lack of job satisfaction, and lack of appropriate advancement.[104]

Although a certain amount of flexibility in the work training guidelines was required to respond to local needs, the lack of some basic central guidelines posed another problem. Rules governing work trainees' conduct were different in each residence. For example, the abuse of alcohol in one residence would mean the cancellation of a work trainee's pass into the community, while in another it would mean sending the work trainee back to the correctional centre.[105]

Effectiveness or success of the Work Training Program was difficult to assess. The 1975 evaluation indicated that the recidivist rate for persons on work training was about the same as for those in the institution. The 1975 evaluation states that effectiveness of the program is difficult to measure because of the elusive nature of rehabilitation (the ultimate goal of the program). There was no follow-up of residents. The program had no specific purposes and objectives. There was a poor information collection system and no measures of effective performance. Some of the more positive aspects of the program were that work trainees earned money and some of them kept their jobs after release.[106] In addition, the program proved that inmates could live in the community while under sentence. It was felt that the program would help pave the way for other community-type correctional programs.

The Work Training Program was a remarkable achievement when measured against the conditions existing even thirty years earlier.

Community reaction to the Work Training Program was generally good. Employers seemed to accept the program fairly readily. Police were somewhat skeptical at first but gradually grew to accept the idea.[107] The news media generally presented a favourable view of the program while the general public did not display any definite reaction to it. Mr. Thompson stated that at Prince Albert and Regina "the residences were able to maintain good neighbourhood relationships in their immediate locale and the remainder of the city was oblivious to the existence of the residents."[108] This anonymity of the program may have been one reason for the lack of public reaction to it.

Probation and Parole

Some thought was given to parole during the 1970s. The Department of Social Services had supplied free parole services for the National Parole Service since the early 1960s in areas where neither the John Howard Society nor National Parole had staff. In 1971 the federal government agreed to pay provincial agencies $40.00 for each community assessment, and $30.00 per month for each parolee supervised.[109]

National Parole provided services to provincial inmates except those convicted under provincial statutes. However, parole service was geared to the needs of long-term penitentiary inmates. Another shortcoming was that it operated in isolation from other related programs in the provincial correctional system such as the Temporary Absence Program. It was also felt that the need of short-term offenders differed considerably from those of the penitentiary inmates. Also, parole applications took a long time to process.[110]

Probation services were greatly expanded in the 1970s. This expansion was in line with the high priority placed on community corrections during that period. In 1973-74 ten new probation officers were hired to make a total of 35 probation positions. This total did not include probation officers employed within the Department of Northern Saskatchewan.[111]

The 1975 Corrections Proposal (a proposal for program direction in Corrections) envisaged a changing role for probation personnel. It viewed them as playing the liaison and coordinating role with the Criminal Justice System, with Social Service agencies, and with the general public.[112]

1975 Corrections Proposal

In 1975 a Corrections Proposal for Saskatchewan was put forward. The proposal was not a detailed plan for the development of correctional services, but, rather, an overall statement of primary program directions and resource allocations for the next four to six years. In general, the plan called for a reduced emphasis on institutional programming and an expansion of community-based facilities.

The 1975 Proposal viewed the primary functions of Corrections as the protection of society, and the rehabilitation of the offender. It was indicated in the Proposal that the only method of providing long term protection for society was by the rehabilitation of the offender.[113] Thus, the focus of Corrections in 1975 was the same as that indicated by the 1946 Penal Commission.

The 1975 Proposal claims to be realistic about the task of rehabilitation. It states that

> there are no longer any illusions about the magnitude of the task, nor about the limitations and inadequacies of the knowledge, skills and techniques presently available to Corrections in performing it. There are no illusions, either about the utility of treatment or conditioning methods so popular in the past which promise rapid, magical and complete cures for criminal offenders.[114]

The Proposal indicated, however, that there was little consensus on what rehabilitation meant. It also stated that other problems associated with rehabilitation were that offenders generally had well-established behaviour patterns, had a diverse range of problems, and had relatively short contact with Corrections. The Proposal indicated that under these circumstances the rehabilitation of all offenders was an unrealistic expectation for Corrections.[115] In addition, the Proposal stated that "the custodial approach continues to dominate programs despite the undisputed fact that rehabilitative success is quite rare and recidivism extremely frequent."[116]

The Proposal defined rehabilitation as having two rational components. The first was the objective component and consisted essentially of providing tools to the offender so that he could live in the open community without further breaches of the law. The second, or subjective component, consisted of the acquisition, by the offender, of attitudes and behaviours which would permit the constructive use of these tools.[117]

In assessing the correctional system's ability to perform the rehabilitative function, the 1975 Proposal pointed out major problems. One was the short period of contact during which the correctional system was expected to change the habits and influences of many years. A second problem was the orientation Corrections had to take in order to meet the objectives of the Criminal Justice System, namely punishment, deterrence, and social control. Rehabilitation, however, was generally assumed to require an individualized, flexible, humane approach. The third problem was the emphasis on incarceration as a way of rehabilitating the offender. This had meant that an inordinate amount of resources had been used on maintaining institutions which were "largely outmoded, inhumane, and ill suited for purposes of rehabilitation . . . ." The fourth problem was the isolation of Corrections from the community. As a result, Corrections had a limited influence on social policies, or public attitudes concerning crime and the treatment of offenders.[118]

The directions proposed in 1975 generally tended toward deinstitutionalization, decentralization, flexibility and diversity in programming, diversion of offenders from incarceration, and community involvement in Corrections. The proposal recommended that the province be divided into three catchment areas — Saskatoon, Regina, and Prince Albert. Each area would have a small, secure custodial facility. Community-based, residential facilities would be located at Regina, Saskatoon, Prince Albert, Meadow Lake, Loon Lake, North Battleford, Yorkton, and Moose Jaw. Each of these catchment areas would provide a complete range of correctional services, and comprehensive community-based services. The range of services envisaged for each area included supervision programs for offenders living in the community (i.e. probation); various types of supervised living environments for offenders (i.e. residences, camps, probation hostels, and correctional centres for offenders who needed secure custody); separate remand facilities; and other specialized services which might be needed in each community.[119]

In summary, community corrections programs were becoming well established by the mid-1970s. Rehabilitation was still one of the primary objectives of the correctional systems. Normalization of the inmate's life was viewed as important. There was a movement towards smaller institutions, having the offender situated in the community, and having the community more involved with the correctional system.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Historical research can be used to assist policy makers in understanding why and how changes have taken place. It could assist them in the formulation of present and future policies. In the educational sphere, it is important for students of social policy to have a firm understanding of the past in order to understand that the present does not exist in a vacuum and that the past has implications for the present and future. History also provides a perspective and identity for the citizens of the province, for professionals and non-professionals working in the justice system, and for legislators. Karl Popper, in the *The Open Society and its Enemies*, aptly sums up the importance of history:

> There can be no history of the past as it actually did happen; there can only be historical interpretations, and none of them final; and every generation has a right to frame its own. But not only has it a right to frame its own interpretations, it has a kind of obligation to do so; for there is indeed a pressing need to be answered. We want to know how our troubles are related to the past, and and we want to see the line along which we may progress towards the solution of what we feel, and what we choose to be our main tasks.

There has been an upsurge of interest in the historical development of human services during the past decade. This may be related to periods of rapid change within these services, because during such periods an understanding of the dynamics of change becomes critical and questions regarding the process of change emerge. Some of these dynamics and questions can be understood by looking to the past.

The correctional system has a complex conceptual base. It reflects the interrelationships of such concepts as the nature of man, society, culture, values, economics and politics. The response to crime is formulated on the basis of these interrelationships. Over the centuries there have been a variety of ways of dealing with offenders against the law. The Saskatchewan correctional experience reflects this complex and changing process. Punishment; deterrence, both individual and general; retribution; the protection of society; incapacitation; humanitarianism; reform; treatment and rehabilitation have all been evident in the way society has dealt with offenders against the law or social order. At various times in history the importance and methods of employing these concepts have been different.

Prior to 1905, before Saskatchewan achieved provincial status, some of the groundwork for developing a justice system in the West had begun. Gradually, this system diversified — courts were established, judges and justices of the peace were hired. Eventually jails were built. The first jail held male and female prisoners, and lunatics. It was thought that labour was important and prisoners were made to work at such tasks as maintenance and cleaning of the jail and jail grounds, farming, and sewing. In the territorial period prisoners' labour was used to assist in making the jails self-sufficient economically. In these respects the early territorial jails were similar to the sixteenth and seventeenth century workhouses and the early penitentiaries of Europe and North America.

Throughout the 1905-1975 period the use of institutions (jails) appears to have been the most common method of dealing with offenders in the adult correctional system. Punishments of the body, such as whipping could be ordered by the courts for some crimes and were carried out as part of the sentence in the institution. The court could also order a sentence of hard labour for prisoners as part of their punishment. Capital punishment by hanging was still in existence.

Retribution and deterrence through punishment were the major thrusts in the 1905-1945 period in Saskatchewan, but there was also an emphasis on incapacitation by locking the offender securely in an institution. The element of reform was less evident. During this period the jails were isolated from the community — they were situated at a physical distance from the community, few visitors were allowed in and inmates were not allowed out into the community. This perpetuated the pattern, which for centuries had been used in other parts of the world, for the housing of deviants. Provincial adult corrections did not change much during this forty year period and there were no substantial changes in legislation from 1906 to 1950.

During the 1905-1945 period retribution and deterrence through punishment were evident in many ways. The English Utilitarian ideas of deterrence were reflected in the low standards in the jails. There was a strong emphasis on the denial of luxuries to prisoners. For example, prisoners were constantly complaining about the quality and quantity of medical services, sanitation, and food. Even the addition of a chair with a back instead of a stool was questioned by jail administrators as perhaps making conditions too good for the prisoners.

Prisoners were referred to by cell number rather than name, they had to wear uniforms and have their hair cut very short. They had to give up all their personal possessions upon entering the jail. Although security and sanitary considerations were probably involved in these policies, humiliation and retribution were equally evident.

Discipline was an important aspect of life inside the jails. The jail staff were drawn from ex-military personnel. Strict obedience was required of the prisoners and they were not allowed to speak unless spoken to by an officer — a reflection of the silence system or Auburn approach. They were to keep their eyes downcast. The prisoners had to learn respect for authority. They worked together during the day and were put in separate cells during the night.

Sometimes work was used as punishment, and it could be irksome and very hard. It was hoped that breaking stones would deter vagrants from coming to jail. In Moosomin Jail prisoners were made to scrub dirty laundry with a brush. Bentham had seen hard labour as a deterrent. Some of the earlier jails had used it as retribution, and the founders of the workhouses believed that it would lead to reform. Elam Lynds, Auburn's first warden, thought that the spirit of the prisoners had to be broken before they could be reformed.

The major sources of occupation were the large farms which were attached to each of the male institutions. These farms were also a good source of revenue. Self-sufficiency had been considered an important aspect of the early penitentiaries, and some jail administrators viewed labour on the farms as a method of reforming the prisoners.

Custody and security, which emphasize the importance of incapacitation, were important aspects of the jails during the 1905-1945 period. Custodians could use drastic measures to deter a prisoner who was trying to escape. The Rules and Regulations of the period tended to promote stern discipline and retribution, and to curb behaviour which might endanger custody.

Criminals in the jails during the 1905-1945 period tended to reflect the social and economic conditions in society and the official sanctions society used to deal with them. For example, vagrancy, theft and breach of the liquor laws were the most common crimes. At various times during this period members of dissident political, religious, and ethnic groups and persons who were believed insane and dangerous could be imprisoned.

There was little interest in prison reform during this period. In 1928 a form of classification for prisoners was instituted. Prisoners between the ages of 16 and 21 were imprisoned in Moosomin. This was considered as a very reform-minded move by Saskatchewan prison administrators. When Moosomin closed in 1949 classification by age continued and Regina became the jail for offenders under the age of 25. This idea of classification by age was similar to ideas promoted by John Howard and others in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Outside groups such as the John Howard Society which began in 1940, and the Prisoners Aid Movement were primarily concerned with after-care. These groups drew volunteer members from church groups and various other community voluntary agencies. They were primarily involved in manipulation of the environment, and focused on providing food, shelter, clothing, and sometimes employment for ex-prisoners.

Although labour was considered to have some value in reforming prisoners, little attention was given to the concept of reform itself. Prisoners had access to a library and religious services, and spiritual advice was provided. Solitude by use of the silence system and homily (moral instruction) were seen as aspects of reform. Towards the end of this period, some ideas regarding the scientific treatment of criminals were beginning to emerge.

The 1946 Saskatchewan Penal Commission which was the first and only Commission to investigate penal conditions in Saskatchewan, formally introduced the philosophy of treatment in Saskatchewan. The 1946 Penal Commission concentrated most of its efforts on the jails which would indicate that they saw them as continuing to be the most important aspect of the adult correctional service. The Commission did call for the expansion of existing methods, or development of alternative methods, for dealing with some offenders — i.e., probation, parole, after-care, fines, forestry camps. The majority of the Commission's recommendations were aimed at humanizing the jails. Many of the recommendations for improvements were similar to the principles of the 1870 National Prison Association and to recommendations made by John Howard in 1777, and by the 1895 Gladstone Commission. In addition, the Commission called for scientific diagnosis and treatment of offenders by making use of the social and behavioural sciences. The Commission argued that the only way to protect society was to reform the offender — turn the lawbreaker into a law-abiding citizen. The Commission viewed crime as stemming from the economic and social conditions in society. They did not discuss retribution and deterrence through punishment. This shows the influence of the Positive School of Criminology.

In the late 1940s and the 1950s many of the recommendations made by the 1946 Commission were implemented. Measures were taken to improve and humanize the physical and social milieu of the jails.

During the 1946-1966 period, the introduction of the concept of treatment was accompanied by other changes which tended to humanize the social and physical milieu of the jails. Rather than ex-military personnel, staff were selected who were better able to fit into the treatment approach. Staff discarded their uniforms and weapons and were encouraged to communicate with inmates. Inmates were called by name and not number as they formerly had been and their personal worth was emphasized. The emphasis on punishment and the use of strict discipline diminished.

The methods of reform were expanded. Labour and homily were still viewed as methods of reform. Vocational training facilities were expanding and educational upgrading was made available to the inmates. Physical activity was considered important. Classification of prisoners was emphasized. Social group work became the backbone of the treatment program. Psychological and other tests were administered to inmates and counselling by the interview method was used. In the late 1950s a shift in emphasis took place, from training and education to changing the inmate's attitudes and behaviour.

There was much naivete and idealism surrounding the means and ends of the treatment process. There was no definition of treatment and no consensus about the causes and cures of crime. Thus, every time the treatment team changed so did the ideas about causes of crime and the methods of treating criminals.

The measures of success in the correctional system changed as a result of the introduction of treatment. Prior to 1945 success was assessed in terms of the number of escapes and disturbances in the jails. Some attention was given to recidivist rates since punishment was supposed to be a deterrent. After the introduction of treatment, correctional officials placed more emphasis on recidivist rates and, in fact, sometimes became obsessed with them. The general public has measured success on the basis of crime rates. There was little evaluation of treatment programs during the 1946-1966 period and no follow-up of inmates after they left the institutions. Thus, recidivist rates appeared to be the only available and objective means of measuring success. Some of the correctional staff did recognize some of the positive aspects or successes of the humanitarian approach such as the improvements in social (treating inmates as human beings) and physical (renovations) milieu, and the provision of opportunities for inmates (education, vocational and personal guidance through counselling).

Some efforts were made to develop alternatives to incarceration, or to get inmates out of the institution for at least part of their sentence. Probation services were developed, greater use was made of parole, and work camps were established. Members of the community were encouraged to come into the jails and more emphasis was placed on providing opportunities for inmates outside the jails.

In 1967 the Corrections Act was revised and set the legislative base for community-oriented programming for inmates. The names of the correctional institutions were changed to correctional centres — an indication that the inmates were to go out from these centres and participate in the community. This philosophical shift to community-based programming was similar to the shift which had occurred in mental health services and in services for juveniles in the 1950s in Saskatchewan. The philosophical emphasis remained on the rehabilitation of the offender during the 1967-1975 period, but the emphasis shifted from rehabilitation in the institution to rehabilitation in the community.

Work training was the major program aimed at getting an inmate into the community for at least part of his sentence. Probation services were greatly expanded. Other community-oriented programs included the Family Therapy Program, the Temporary Absence Program, the use of intermittent sentencing, and the Fine Option Program. With the exception of probation and the Fine Option Program these services used the institution as a base. By looking only at adult corrections it is difficult to assess whether institutions were being used as a first or last resort of legal sanctioning. A review of sentencing practices would be necessary in order to answer this question. The institutional populations have not decreased with the use of the alternatives to incarceration. In fact, they have increased.

When comparing the ethnicity of sentenced admissions with the ethnicity of the population base of the province over the age of 15 years it was found that the rate of incarceration of Indian/Metis persons has drastically increased. At the same time, the rate for non-Native males has decreased slightly and has decreased drastically for non-Native females. For example, in 1925 one admission was generated for every 52 Treaty Indian males and one was generated for every 161 non-Native males. Fifty years later, in 1975, one admission was generated for every 7 Indian/Metis males and one was generated for every 219 non-Native males. For females, in 1925 one admission was generated for every 238 Treaty Indians and one admission was generated for every 2,545 non-Native females. In 1975, one admission was generated for every 5.7 Indian/Metis females while one admission was generated for every 7,302 non-Native females.

Why has the prison population not decreased? Firstly, many of the community corrections programs are, at least in part, institutionally based. Secondly, it is possible that sentences were harsher in the earlier period and greater use was made of the federal institutions. Perhaps many inmates who formerly would have been sent to a federal institution are now being sentenced to provincial institutions. However it could be that community-based programming has widened the net of the criminal justice system rather than shifted the emphasis from the use of institutions to community-based solutions. In any event further research would be required before this question could be properly addressed.

Community-based services were feasible in the Mental Health field because it was possible to reduce the number of institutionalized patients. Control of intake rested with the psychiatric staff. Similarly in the juvenile field, control of intake was shifted to Social Service professionals (although this authority is being challenged). In Adult Corrections, control of intake is the exclusive responsibility of the courts, not the correctional officials.

The 1971 Corrections Committee Study viewed crime as an empirical and administrative problem and advocated a management approach. Its focus on law and order as the main concern is exemplified by their recommendation to move corrections to the Attorney General's Department. The Committee viewed the protection of society from criminal victimization as the primary function of corrections. They did not discuss rehabilitation. The Committee's orientation could reflect the influence of the move away from the Positive School of Criminology back to the Classical School. Although many recommendations made by the Committee were adopted, the major shifts to a management and law and order approach never were.

There were a number of changes during the 1966-1975 period. The farming operation was discontinued but the concept of self-sufficiency was adopted in the work training program where the inmates were expected to pay room and board to the government. There was also a movement away from the adherence to rigid rules and regulations and toward a more common sense approach in decision-making and the operation of the institutions which was more in line with the treatment approach. Another change was that admission on the basis of geographical location was introduced. This was in contrast to the earlier classification by age which was strongly recommended by John Howard and other eighteenth and nineteenth century theorists.

Corrections had to provide both custody and rehabilitation to a very heterogeneous group of inmates such as drug offenders, remands, and the mentally disordered. In the 1967-1975 period attention began to be focused on providing programming to meet some of the special needs of these groups.

Even before the 1880s, when Louis Riel was hanged, the Indian and Metis community had an uneasy relationship with the justice system. But it was not until some time after the Second World War that their admission rates to prisons began to accelerate. Prior to World War II persons of Indian ancestry were never mentioned in any official documents. For example, the 1946 Saskatchewan Penal Commission does not even mention persons of Indian ancestry. It was not until the mid-1950s that corrections administrators began to comment on the rising numbers of people of Indian ancestry who were coming into the correctional system. For example, in the 1920s Indian/Metis males accounted for approximately 5% and Indian/Metis females accounted for approximately 20% of sentenced admissions. Fifty years later, in the early 1970s Indian/Metis males accounted for approximately 65% and Indian/Metis females accounted for approximately 90% of sentenced admissions. There are a number of factors which may have contributed to this escalation. However, further research would be required before a definite relationship could be established.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s corrections administrators grew increasingly concerned about this rising rate of incarceration of persons of Indian ancestry and began to view them as a group in need of special attention and programming. Both the 1971 Corrections Study

Committee and the 1975 Corrections Proposal viewed Native offenders as a special group and discussed the importance of Native culture and the need for involving Natives in the planning and delivery of justice services (Natives-for-Natives approach). In line with this thinking, during the 1970s many innovative programs were developed which were aimed at improving services for Natives. These included the Indian Probation Project and the Fine Option Program.

While there was little emphasis on punishment during this period (1967-75), the basic punishment of loss of liberty was still in existence. Deterrence and retribution were no longer used as rationales in decision-making, although poor prison conditions prompted disturbances among inmates. Their grievances were similar to those made by inmates in the 1905-1945 period. They complained about the quality and quantity of medical services and food, and about poor sanitation and lack of recreation. Perhaps poor conditions were, in fact, being used as a form of punishment. Certainly, the emphasis on custody and security persisted throughout this period.

The jails, during this time, housed a high proportion of prisoners who were involved in liquor-related offences including those related to the Vehicles Act. Theft continued to be another common offence for which persons were committed to jail. The correctional system was still being used to deal with social problems such as the use of alcohol.

During the 1966-1975 period there was a great deal of interest in the welfare of prisoners in the jail as well as a continued interest in ex-prisoners by private agencies and groups. The orientation of these groups had changed from the pre-1945 period when environmental manipulation through the provision of food, shelter, and perhaps a job were considered important. The emphasis moved to counselling and other applications of the treatment model, although environmental manipulation did remain a function of some of these groups.

The 1975 Corrections Proposal called for deinstitutionalization — the decreased use of the institutions and increased emphasis on the use of community-based services and facilities. It also called for decentralization, the use of smaller institutions, and flexibility and diversity in programming. The 1975 Proposal claimed to recognize the magnitude of the task of rehabilitation; to be aware of the limitations in knowledge, skills and techniques available for rehabilitation; and to have no illusions about treatment or conditioning methods which promised rapid, magical or complete cures for criminal offenders.

While the conditions existing today reflect the recommendations of this 1975 Proposal, they also bear, to some extent, the marks of the earlier phases in the development of Corrections.

One of the intentions of this book was to provide some baseline data which would encourage others to do further research. There are endless possibilities for investigation but we will mention only a few of these. One major area of study would be the relationship between social, economic and political changes, and the development of correctional policies in Saskatchewan. What was the impact of the depression on correctional practices? What was the relationship between policies in other areas of social services and correctional policies? What was the total impact of the CCF government on correctional policies?

Another area of study would be the relationship between historical developments in other areas of the criminal justice system and development in the correctional system in Saskatchewan? Was there a relationship between increasing police manpower and correctional services? What were the attitudes of magistrates and judges to correctional alternatives and did these attitudes affect correctional policies.

A detailed examination of the implications of the federal-provincial jurisdictional split would be interesting. What impact has the split jurisdiction had on the planning and development of services? Did the territorial prisons remain vacant for extended periods of time because of problems between the federal and territorial governments?

We have attempted to view the development of adult corrections in Saskatchewan primarily as a derivative of the past. Further research could challenge this view. Were there distinct differences between developments in Saskatchewan and penal theories of the past? Has the location of corrections within the Department of Social Services in Saskatchewan made the history of correctional policy different from that in other provinces or countries?

Only time and considerable research will answer these questions. It is hoped that this work will serve both as a starting point and a stimulus for others.

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[35] Consolidated Statutes of Canada, "An Act respecting procedure in Criminal Cases," 1859, chap. 99, sec. 99; Statutes of Canada, "Act respecting procedure in Criminal Cases," 1869, chap. 29, sec. 96. See Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada (Archambault Report) 1939, part IV, chap, xxx, pp. 339-340. For a more recent commentary on the split in jurisdiction refer to H.G. Needham, *Historical Perspectives on the Federal-Provincial Split in Jurisdiction in Corrections,* Canadian Journal of Criminology, vol. 22, no. 3, July 1980, p. 298.

[36] For an account of the Westminster Conference refer to *Confederation: Being a series of hitherto unpublished documents bearing on the British North America Act* edited by Joseph Pope, (Toronto: Carswell Co. Ltd., 1895). Ontario's delegate to the Westminster Conference, Oliver Mowat, moved that "it shall be competent for the local legislatures to make laws respecting . . . the construction, maintenance and management of penitentiaries and of public and reformatory prisons." (p. 27). This appeared, from those minutes we have of the conference, to have the support of the delegates during the early stages of the drafting of the British North America Act. Moreover, Sir John A. Macdonald moved that "the power of respiting, reprieving, commuting and pardoning prisoners convicted of crimes, and of remitting of sentences in whole or in part, which belongs of right to the Crown, shall be administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of each Province in Council." (p. 29).

[37] Henry Howard Molyneux, 4th Earl of Carnarvan, *Speeches on Canadian Affairs,* (London: John Murray, 1902), pp. 102-103. Carnarvan took a keen interest and played an active role in the Westminster Conference in London.

[38] As a result of a major reorganization the English prison system was centralized in 1877. See Peter Tibber, "Edmund Du Cane: The Prison Act 1877." *Howard Journal,* vol. xix, 1980, pp. 9-16.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

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[2] Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1915, "Statute Law," chap. 43, sec. 14, p. 725.

[3] Jailor's Report, 30 July 1899, Sessional Paper no. 18, 1900, p. 236.

[4] Inspector of Buildings to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 2 November 1907, file no. 111, Public Works Holdings, Saskatchewan Provincial Archives, Regina, Sask.

[5] Jailor Black to Walter Scott, 9 March 1907, file no. 111, Public Works Holdings; Marguerite E. Robinson, *Pile O'Bones: History of Wascana Creek, Saskatchewan* (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, Local History Program, n.d.), p. 24.

[6] Regina *Morning Leader,* 24 April 1915, p. 13.

[7] Deputy Attorney General to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 29 November 1913, file no. 216, Public Works Holdings; Deputy Minister of Public Works to Deputy Attorney General, 6 December 1913, file no. 216, Public Works Holdings; Acting Deputy Minister of Public Works to Gaoler of Wolseley Gaol, 3 February 1915, file no. 216, Public Works Holdings.

[8] Regina *Morning Leader,* 25 June 1930, p. 9.

[9] Annual Report, Saskatchewan Department of Public Works, 1942, p. 47.

[10] Interview with Mr. Jock Brown, June 1976, Human Justice Program, Regina, Sask.; *Report of the Saskatchewan Penal Commission* (Regina, 1946), n.p., p. 99.

[11] Annual Report, Public Works, 1915, p. 85.

[12] Ibid., p. 85; Annual Report, Public Works, 1939, p. 52.

[13] Annual Report, Public Works, 1939.

[14] Annual Report, Public Works, 1939, p. 40.

[15] *Rules and Regulations for the Government of Gaols in the Province of Saskatchewan* (Regina: J.W. Reid, Government Printer, 1915), pp. 33-34.

[16] Alan Sharp to Mr. J.M. Smith, 17 October 1928, file no. 135, Public Works Holdings; Alan Sharp to J.F. Bryant, 16 November 1929, file no. 135, Public Works Holdings; Annual Report, Public Works, 1928, p. 65.

[17] *Rules and Regulations for the Government of Gaols in the Province of Saskatchewan* (Regina: Thos. H. McConica, King's Printer, 1943), pp. 23 and 36.

[18] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission,* p. 99; Interview with Mrs. Foot, June 1976, Human Justice Program, Regina, Sask.

[19] Frederick H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1910), pp. 150-57.

[20] Prisoners (12 signatures) of Battleford Woman's Jail to Minister of Public Works, February 1931, file no. 278, Public Works Holdings.

[21] L.M. Grayson and Michael Bliss, eds., *The Wretched of Canada: Letters to R.B. Bennett, 1930-1935* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 75.

[22] Caretaker of Battleford Women's Jail to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 7 February 1933, file no. 278, Public Works Holdings.

[23] Minister of Public Works to Warden of Prince Albert Jail, 28 February 1923, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[24] J.W. Spalding to Officer Comanding "Depot" Division, file no. 111 T, Public Works Holdings; P.A. Forsyth to J.M. Smith, 9 October 1929, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[25] Rules and Regulations (1943), pp. 3, 4, 29 and 37.

[26] H.J. Quinn to Minister of Public Works, 2 January 1945, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[27] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), p. 26; Interview with Jack Mather, June 1976, Human Justice Program; Regina, Sask.; *Regina Daily Star*, 6 November 1928, p. 9.

[28] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), p. 24 and 33; Interview with Jack Mather.

[29] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), p. 33; Interview with Jack Mather; Interview with Miss Lacoursiere, June 1976, Human Justice Program, Regina, Sask.

[30] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), pp. 25-26.

[31] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), pp. 31-32.

[32] *Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada* (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1938), pp. 62 and 54.

[33] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), p. 32.

[34] Regina *Morning Leader*, 24 April 1915, p. 13.

[35] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission*, p. 92.

[36] *Rules and Regulations* (1915), pp. 26-32.

[37] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission*, p. 72.

[38] Interview with Christian Smith, June 1976, Human Justice Program, Regina, Sask.; *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*, p. 116.

[39] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission*, pp. 71-72.

[40] Deputy Minister of Public Works to W.P. Reekie, 18 October 1934, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings; Interview with Mr. Jock Brown.

[41] Deputy Minister of Public Works to Assistant Deputy Minister, 27 March 1931, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings; Deputy Minister of Public Works to the Wardens of the jails, 2 November 1933, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[42] Acting Deputy Minister of Public Works to Jas. McMullen, 4 July 1914, file no. 135, Public Works Holdings.

[43] M.E. McIntosh to J.M. Smith, 8 February 1938, file no. 278, Public Works Holdings.

[44] M.E. McIntosh to J.M. Smith, 24 August 1936, file no. 278, Public Works Holdings.

[45] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), pp. 31, 34 and 35.

[46] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), p. 34; *Rules and Regulations* (1915), p. 32; *Rules and Regulations* (1921), p. 28; Interview with Jack Mather.

[47] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission*, p. 63; Interview with Mr. Christian Smith.

[48] Deputy Minister of Public Works to F. Kennedy, 26 May 1926, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[49] George Winson to Warden of Regina Jail, 20 September 1921, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[50] Jailor's Report, 4 July 1905, Sessional Paper no. 34, 1906, p. 213; Annual Report, Public Works, 1934, p. 33; Inspector of Farms to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 14 September 1914, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[51] F.W. Conconi to J.M. Smith, 28 June 1937, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[52] G.A. Cruise to Department of Public Works, 20 April 1939, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[53] Annual Report, Public Works, 1940, p. 85.

[54] F.W. Conconi to J.M. Smith, 28 June 1937, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[55] Theodore Leitchman (Affidavit), 6 April 1938, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[56] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), p. 32.

[57] Deputy Minister of Public Works to Deputy Warden of Prince Albert Jail, 29 June 1937, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[58] P. Nicolst, A.B. Burt and A.E. Evenhalgh to J.F. Bryant, 9 July 1933, file no. 278, Public Works Holdings.

[59] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission*, pp. 96-97; *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*, p. 123; Interview with Christian Smith.

[60] P.A. Forsyth to David Webster, 26 April 1939, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[61] *Rules and Regulations* (1921), pp. 31-32.

[62] *Regina Daily Star*, 6 November 1928, p. 9.

[63] D. Ryan to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 13 December 1937, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings; *Regina Leader Post*, 14 August 1930, p. 1.

[64] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission*, pp. 75-76.

[65] O.E. Rothwell to A.P. McNab, 5 April 1921, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[66] Wardens of Jails response to questionnaire prepared by the Social Service Council of Canada, 1929, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings; J.E. Nunn to Deputy Attorney General, 27 April 1933, file no. 278, Public Works Holdings.

[67] A. Rose to J.M. Smith, 14 April 1931, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[68] Grayson and Bliss, *Wretched of Canada*, pp. 78-79.

[69] P.A. Forsyth to J.M. Smith, 17 March 1930, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings; O.E. Rothwell to A.P. McNab, 5 April 1921, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[70] *Saskatchewan Penal Commission*, pp. 79-80.

[71] F.W. Conconi to J.M. Smith, 28 June 1937, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings; *Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada*, p. 121.

[72] Deputy Minister of Public Works to A.P. McNab, 22 November 1915, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings; P.A. Forsyth to J.M. Uhrich, 4 January 1929, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[73] Interview with Christian Smith.

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[75] Deputy Minister of Public Works to F. Kennedy, 28 April 1924, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings; *Rules and Regulations* (1921), pp. 6-7.

[76] Deputy Minister of Public Works to P.A. Forsyth, 23 July 1926, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[77] Deputy Minister of Public Works to R.E. Aikens, 24 October 1928, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[78] Payroll for May 1920, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[79] *Rules and Regulations* (1943), p. 3; Ibid., p. 25.

[80] Kimberley (circular), 28 December 1880, file no. 707, Attorney General "G" Series, Saskatchewan Provincial Archives, Regina, Sask.

[81] Regina *Morning Leader*, 24 April 1915, p. 13.

[82] Order in Council, no. 10354, 17 November 1942, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[83] Interview with Christian Smith; Regina *Leader Post*, 11 December 1936, p. 1.

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[88] For further discussion regarding the problems relating to the interpretation of official statistics see the following works: Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology* (New York: Collier Books, 1961), pp. 137-58; Stanton Wheeler, "Criminal Statistics: A Reformulation of the Problem." *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, vol. 58, no. 3, 1967; Fred J. Murphy, Mary M. Shirley and Helen L. Witmer, "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 16, no. 4, October 1946, pp. 686-96; Marvin E. Wolfgang, "Uniform Crime Reports: A Critical Appraisal." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, no. 608, April 1963, pp. 708-38.

[89] Deputy Attorney General to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 29 November 1913, file no. 216, Public Works Holdings.

[90] Sam East to George Spence, 30 September 1936, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[91] J.M. Smith to F.J. Bryant, 20 July 1933, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.

[92] Interview with Christian Smith.

[93] Wardens of Jails response to questionnaire prepared by the Social Service Council of Canada, 1929, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings; G.E. Dealtry to Premier of Saskatchewan, 29 October 1935, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings; P.A. Forsyth to J.M. Smith, 21 November 1935, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings.

[94] *Funk and Wagnall Encyclopedia*, 1960 ed., s.v. "Jehovah's Witnesses," p. 5213.

[95] M. James Penton, *Jehovah's Witnesses in Canada: Champions of Freedom of Speech and Worship* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), pp. 134-35.

[96] Ibid., p. 137.

[97] Interview with Christian Smith.

[98] Penton, *Jehovah's Witnesses in Canada*, p. 155.

[99] Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Pictorial History of the Doukhobors* (Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1969), pp. 14-35.

[100] Surgeon's Report, 30 June 1906, Sessional Paper no. 34, 1907, p. 212.

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[103] D. Ryan to Deputy Minister of Public Works, 14 May 1937, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.
[104] Interview with Christian Smith.
[105] Keith Foster, "The Regina Riot." *At the Library*, Regina Public Library, vol. 2, no. 5, July/August 1978, p. 3.
[106] T. Hayes to J.M. Smith, 30.September 1936, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.
[107] Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1906, "An Act respecting Insane Persons," chap 22, pp. 104-09.
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[110] Revised Statutes of Canada, "Criminal Code," 1906, chap. 146, sec. 270.
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[113] Ibid., pp. 19-31.
[114] E. Fattah, "Moving to the Right: A Return to Punishment." Paper delivered at the Third Conference of Applied Criminology, Ottawa, March 1978, pp. 10-11.
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[120] Interview with Christian Smith.
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[122] Interview with Christian Smith.
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[125] Alan Sharp to David Webster, 7 December 1943, file no. 135, Public Works Holdings; Deputy Minister of Public Works to A. Broughton, 30 January 1946, file no. 112, Public Works Holdings; Christian Smith to David Webster, 21 February 1945, file no. 207, Public Works Holdings.
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[2] Interview with Christian Smith, June 1976, Human Justice Program, Regina, Sask.
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[13] Ibid., p. 69.
[14] Ibid., p. 74.
[15] Ibid., p. 32.
[16] Ibid., p. 22.
[17] Ibid., pp. 21-29.
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[21] Debate on the Address-in-Reply, 4th Session — 10th Legislature, 12 February 1947, file no. AD746, Speeches of J.T. Douglas.
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[25] *Saskatchewan News*, 2 May 1949, p. 3.
[26] Debates and Proceedings, Official Report, Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, 1950 Session, bill no. 87.
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[28] Ibid.
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[31] Director of Corrections to Warden of Prince Albert Jail, 3 January 1950, Corrections Branch Deadwood Files.
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[34] Interview with Jack Mather.
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[61] Interview with George March.
[62] Interview with Bruno Radjigk.
[63] Interview with Joe Andrews.
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[73] Interview with George March.
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[82] Interview with Dr. Gordon Russon.
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[84] Interview with Jim Welch.
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[109] Saskatchewan Penal Commission, pp. 46 and 48-49.
[110] Annual Report, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, 1955, p. 43.
[111] Annual Report, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, 1950, p. 76.
[112] Annual Report, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, 1951, p. 48.
[113] Annual Report, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, 1956, p. 57.
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[149] Interview with Larry Heinemann.

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Interviews

The following individuals, who have first-hand knowledge of various aspects of Corrections, were interviewed by one of the authors (S.S.). Tape recordings of the interviews are housed in the School of Human Justice, University of Regina.

ADAMS, Claude (Mr.) Employed in Prince Albert Jail from 1950s, mostly in custodial work and work camps.

ANDREWS, Joe (Mr.) Employed at Regina Jail from mid-1950s, mostly in custodial work but with some involvement in work camps.

BALTZAN, D.M. (Dr.) President of John Howard Society of Saskatchewan in the 1940s.

BROWN, Jock (Mr.) Employed at Prince Albert Jail from 1930s to his retirement in 1970s. Work included custodial work, groups work and jail farm.

CHRISTIE, Hugh (Mr.) First Director of Corrections in Saskatchewan, 1947-1951.

DRIEDGER, Otto (Mr.) Director of Institutions with Department of Social Services, 1968-1971.

FOOT, E. (Mrs.) Employed at Prince Albert Jail for Women, late 1940s-1973. Worked mainly as a teacher but with some custodial duties.

HEINEMANN, Larry (Mr.) Executive Director of the John Howard Society of Saskatchewan, 1961-1968.

HESELTINE, M. (Miss) Superintendent of Prince Albert Jail for Women, 1953-1966.

JABEAU, Francis (Mr.) Member of Communist Party in Saskatchewan, 1930s.

KROEKER, B.J. (Mr.) Chief Probation Officer in Saskatchewan, 1964-1969.

LACOURSIERE, A. (Miss) Employed in custodial work at Battleford Jail for Women in 1940 and later at Prince Albert Jail.

MARCH, George (Mr.) Employed at Regina Jail from early 1950s. Worked mainly in the group work program.

MATHER, Jack (Mr.) Became Deputy Warden of Moosomin Jail in 1945. He was involved in setting up the adult probation program. Served as Warden of Regina Jail for 1 year in the 1950s and Director of Corrections from 1957-1966.

RADJIGK, Bruno (Mr.) Employed at Regina Jail from 1954-1961, mainly in group work programs.

RUSHBEY, Ted (Mr.) Employed at Prince Albert Jail from late 1940s. Work included recreational programs, group work, custodial duties and the jail farm.

RUSSON, Gordon (Dr.) Psychiatrist/Consultant with Saskatchewan Corrections Branch, 1954-1966.

SMITH, Christian (Mr.) One of the early organizers of the John Howard Society in Saskatchewan in 1940s. Secretary to the 1946 Saskatchewan Penal Commission.

VOTH, Abe (Mr.) Employed at Prince Albert Jail from 1965. Work included classification, counselling and group work.

WELCH, Jim (Mr.) Employed at Prince Albert Jail from mid-1950s. Work included custodial duties, jail farm, group work, classification and recreation.

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ABOUT THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN JUSTICE

The research and writing of this book was done under the auspices of the University of Regina School of Human Justice and the Prairie Justice Research Consortium. The School of Human Justice was established in 1975 in response to the unmet need for higher educational opportunities for criminal justice and other human service workers involved in various ways with the administration of justice in the province. The School of Human Justice provides a multi-disciplinary, inter-professional program of studies leading to a Certificate of Bachelor of Human Justice. The majority of students attend classes part-time while working in the human services relating to the administration of justice. Human justice classes are offered at various locations throughout the province.

In 1977 the Prairie Justice Research Consortium was developed within the School of Human Justice. The objectives of the Consortium are the facilitation of justice research in the three prairie provinces and direct involvement in research. A considerable portion of the funds necessary to operate the Consortium has been provided by the Ministry of the Solicitor General.

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